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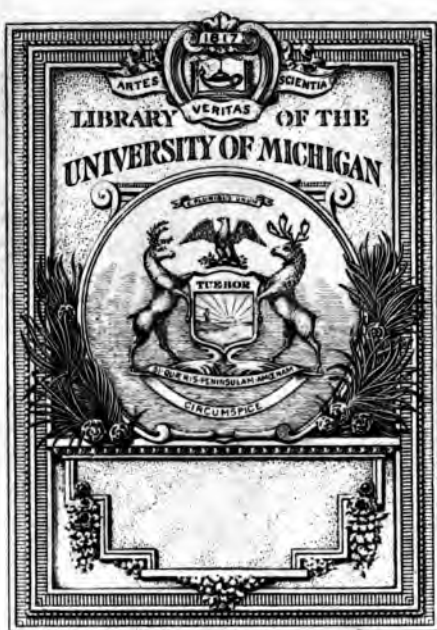
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Cobbett, William

COBBETT'S

COLLECTIVE COMMENTARIES:

OR,

Remarks on the Proceedings in the Collective Wisdom of the Nation, during the Session which began on the 5th of February, and ended on the 6th of August, in the 3rd year of the Reign of King George the Fourth, and in the year of our Lord 1822; being the Third Session of the First Parliament of that King.

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED,

A complete List of the Acts passed during the Session, with Elucidations; and other Notices and Matters; forming, all together, a short but clear History of the Collective Wisdom for the year.

"In multitude of Counsellors there is wisdom."—*Proverbs*, Ch. 24, V. 6.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE Commentaries contained in this volume, were, in general, made and published *daily* in the *Statesman* newspaper. But, as I did not begin with that paper, until the end of February, a short account of the proceedings up to that time is now given, in order that the volume may not be defective. The *dates* are those of the *paper* in which the Commentaries appeared, and not of *the debates themselves*. However, the very day of the debate is usually mentioned also; so that there can hardly be any mistake in this respect.

The List of the Acts and the other matter subjoined will, I am persuaded, be found to be of the greatest utility. The great fault of *Parliamentary Debates*, as they are usually published, is their *immense bulk*. The *heavy cost* is something; but, it is nothing compared with the *unwieldiness* of that mass of confusion contained in two or three large volumes of what are called *Parliamentary Debates*; which, by the bye, are frequently debates, or, at least, speeches that have *never been uttered* in Parliament, but things written out by the *orators* themselves and got in the Debate-Volumes by force of *money*; so that the richer the more eloquent the orator. This is a curious way of obtaining renown. It is,

PREFACE.

indeed, a mere matter of traffic : so much speech for so much money. Hence comes the curious fact, that those who make the shortest speeches in the House, or *none at all* in some cases, make the longest in the Debate-Volumes. However, we are arrived at a state of things, in which very few persons are to be duped by such means. And, in short, scarcely any body but the *orators by purchase* either buy or ever look at the cumbrous loads of trash, called *Parliamentary Debates*, which, in a few years, grow into such a heap, that the very thought of referring to them is enough to drive a man mad.

This Volume is not, at any rate, calculated to frighten by its *looks* ; and, while its outside is not forbidding, its inside does really contain the pith of every discussion of any importance ; and it presents a brief and impartial history of the Session. It is my intention to continue the work yearly, and at a very trifling expense, it will, I am persuaded, be found a very useful book.

WM. COBBETT.

C O N T E N T S.

PREFACE.

Income and Expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland, for the year 1821.

LIST of the Cabinet Ministers, Judges, &c. at the opening of the Session of Parliament, in February 1822.

COMMENTARIES ON THE DEBATES. Beginning on the 5th February, and ending on the 6th August, 1822.

LIST of the Acts passed in the Parliament, in the Session which began on the 5th February and ended on the 6th August 1822; and to which copious Remarks, on divers of those Acts, are subjoined.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1821.

WHY our curiously pretty Gentlemen choose to make their Accounts up to the *Fifth of January* in the new Year, instead of to 31st of December in the old Year, no mortal can tell, unless it be, that they think, that those who have to manage a thing which is the "*envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world*" ought not to do any thing like the *rest of mankind*. This is the case, however; and the Account below is for the Year ending on the 5th of January 1822.

INCOME :

	£.	s.	d.
Customs	14,789,705	5	2½
Excise	31,812,985	13	9½
Stamps	7,078,970	12	7½
Land and Assessed Taxes	8,042,304	5	0½
Post Office	2,044,802	16	5
Pension Duty	79,372	4	5½
Hackney Coaches	26,240	2	6
Pedlars	31,655	3	3
Poundage Fees	4,260	13	11½
Pells	853	18	5½
Casualties	3,815	15	9½
Treasury Fees	985	4	4½
The King's Hereditary Revenue ..	122,717	13	5½
Other things	745,774	0	4½
	£ 64,784,460	9	10

OF THIS THERE WAS RAISED

From IRELAND	£ 6,171,314.
From SCOTLAND	£ 3,907,007.
Expenses of Collecting } and Managing	£ 4,161,833.

EXPENDITURE:

	£.	s.	d.
National Debt.....	33,229,252	15	11½
Civil List.....	1,064,877	6	1½
Charges for Offices and Pensions.....	801,724	0	5
Ditto for Ireland.....	402,339	7	7
Civil Government of Scotland.....	133,077	15	5
Bounties, Pensions and Militia Warrants.....	476,873	14	6½
Navy.....	5,943,879	15	4½
Ordnance.....	1,337,923	4	2½
Army.....	8,932,779	8	2
Loans, Remittances and Advances to other } Countries..... }	426	3	11
Issues from Funds for local purposes in Ireland ..	48,038	11	1½
Miscellaneous Services at Home	3,567,482	2	9½
..... Ditto Abroad	302,560	10	9
Paid for Collecting and Managing the Taxes	4,161,833	5	11½
Charge for Irish Packets, and Packet-postage ...	143,404	1	9½
{ Charges for Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, Allowances to the Universities on account of Almanacks, and for Paper and Parchment to Stamp on	4,237,988	5	9
<hr/>			
£ 64,784,460 9 10			

Our readers will observe, that there was a Loan during the year of Thirteen Millions; and that this Loan was made OF the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund TO the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund. No money was either seen, heard, or touched; but the whole transaction enters into the Account; and it requires no small quantity of clearness of head to be able to extract any thing like the truth from this enormous mass of perplexity. However, we shall by no means attempt a description of the thing after what the reader has seen at page 226 of this Volume, in Lord King's proposed Preamble to the Dead-Weight Bill, which Preamble we beg leave again and again to point out to the reader's attention. Such confusion never was seen in any other papers that went by the name of Accounts.

The above is as nearly as we can possibly state it, what is paid annually on account of Debt, exclusive of Sinking Fund. To this is to be added the Debt's share of the expense of collecting the Taxes, which makes about two millions and a quarter more; this makes the expense of Debt amount to thirty-five millions and a half. Allow it again its share of the Standing Army in time of peace; and then you carry it up to forty-two or forty-three millions; for it is obvious to every one that it is the Taxes which demand the Standing Army.

LIST OF THE CABINET MINISTERS,

At the Opening of Session of Parliament, in February 1822.

The EARL of LIVERPOOL	First Lord of the Treasury.
Mr. ROBERT PEEL	{ Secretary of State for the Home Department.
The MARQUIS of LONDONDERRY (late LORD CASTLEREAGH)	{ Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
The EARL of BATHURST	Secretary of State for the Colonies.
The EARL of ELDON	Lord Chancellor.
The EARL of HARROWBY	President of the Council.
The EARL of WESTMORELAND	The Lord Privy Seal.
The DUKE of WELLINGTON	Master General of the Ordnance.
LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE	{ First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty.
Mr. BRAGGE BATHURST	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Mr. NICHOLAS VANSITTART	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Mr. CHARLES WYNN	{ President of the Board of Control over the Affairs of the East Indies.
LORD VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH,	{ A Seat in the Cabinet, but no official Situation.

PERSONS NOT OF THE CABINET.

Sir ROBERT GIFFORD	Attorney General.
Sir JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY	Solicitor General.
The MARQUIS WELLESLEY	Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

J U D G E S.

Chief Justice	Sir CHARLES ABBOTT, Knt.
Court of King's Bench {	Sir J. BAYLEY.
	Sir G. S. HOLROYD.
	Sir WILLIAM DRAPER BEST.
Common Pleas	{ Chief Justice—Sir ROBERT DALLAS.
	Sir J. A. PARK.
	Sir J. BURROUGH.
	Sir J. RICHARDSON.
Exchequer	{ Chief Baron—Sir R. RICHARDS.
	Sir R. GRAHAM.
	Sir G. WOOD.
	Sir WILLIAM GARROW.

COLLECTIVE COMMENTARIES.

FEBRUARY 6, 1822.

Opening of the Session. Yesterday the House of COMMONS attended the King in the House of LORDS, and there he made the following speech :

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have the satisfaction of informing you, that I continue to receive from Foreign Powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country.

" It is impossible for me not to feel deeply interested in any event that may have a tendency to disturb the peace of Europe. My endeavours have, therefore, been directed, in conjunction with my Allies, to the settlement of the differences which have unfortunately arisen between the Court of St. Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte; and I have reason to entertain hopes that these differences will be satisfactorily adjusted.

" In my late visit to Ireland, I derived the most sincere gratification from the loyalty and attachment manifested by all classes of my subjects.

" With this impression, it must be matter of the deepest concern to me, that a spirit of outrage which has led to daring and systematic violations of the law has arisen, and still prevails in some parts of that country.

" I am determined to use all the means in my power for the protection of the persons and property of my loyal and peaceable subjects. And it will be for your immediate consideration, whether the existing laws are sufficient for this purpose.

" Notwithstanding this serious interruption of public tranquillity,

I have the satisfaction of believing that my presence in Ireland has been productive of very beneficial effects, and all descriptions of my people may confidently rely upon the just and equal administration of the laws, and upon my paternal solicitude for their welfare.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" It is very gratifying to me to be able to inform you, that during the last year the revenue has exceeded that of the year preceding, and appears to be in a course of progressive improvement.

" I have directed the Estimates of the current year to be laid before you. They have been framed with every attention to economy which the circumstances of the country will permit; and it will be satisfactory to you to learn, that I have been able to make a large reduction in our Annual Expenditure, particularly in our Naval and Military Establishments.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have the greatest pleasure in acquainting you, that a considerable improvement has taken place in the course of the last year, in the Commerce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, and that I can now state them to be, in their important branches, in a very flourishing condition.

" I must at the same time deeply regret the depressed state of the Agricultural Interest.

" The condition of an interest so essentially connected with the prosperity of the country, will of course attract your early attention; and I have the fullest reliance on your wisdom in the consideration of this important subject.

"I am persuaded, than in whatever measures you may adopt, you will bear constantly in mind, that, in the maintenance of our public credit, all the best interests of this Kingdom are equally involved; and that it is by a steady adherence to that principle that we have attained, and can alone expect to preserve, our high station amongst the nations of the world."

IN THE LORDS.—An *Address* was moved, in answer to the King's Speech, by the *Earl of Roden*, and seconded by *Lord Walsingham*. The debate had little of interest in it; and the *Address* was carried without a division.

IN THE COMMONS.—The *Address* was moved by the *Hon. Robert Clive*, and seconded by a *Mr. Duncombe*, of whom we never heard before. *Mr. Hume* moved an *amendment*, which expressed an opinion, that the distress of the country was occasioned by taxation, and entreating the King to cause a reduction of expense in all manner of ways. The debate was long and desultory; but, the *intentions* of the Ministers came out in the course of it, and may be thus stated: 1. That very little is to be done in the way of reducing taxes; 2. That the Sinking Fund is not to be touched; 3. That the funds themselves are not to be touched; 4. That Peel's Bill is not to be repealed; 5. That a loan of five millions is to be made to the land people by the Government, that is to say, out of the taxes raised upon the land people themselves. *Mr. Hume's* amendment was negatived, 171 against 89. But, even in this first debate there appeared a strong bias in favour of taking off taxes. *Sir Edward Knatchbull*, Member for Kent, voted against the amendment on the ground,

that nothing could be accomplished, *unless it originated with the Ministers*. He was decently roasted for this by several members, and particularly by *Mr. Brougham*.—Before this motion was made by *Mr. Hume*, *Sir Francis Burdett* moved an *adjournment*, that the House might have time to examine and think of the several parts of the King's Speech before they answered it. This motion was negatived by a great majority, though nothing could be more reasonable. There was, however, this objection of the motion, that the maker of it had previously remarked at great length on all the topics in the address. In the course of these he spoke of the injurious effect of *tithes*, which called forth *loud and general cheers*! We must not omit to refer here to the remarkable logic of *Mr. Ricardo* (See Register, vol. 41, p. 332), that taxation *could not produce distress*, BECAUSE it did not cause *low price*. This gentleman appears to have fallen out of vogue; and well he may; for if logic like this were to be listened to, the reign of imbecility must be complete.

FEBRUARY 7, 1822.

THE LORDS, yesterday, waited on the King with the *Address* that is to say, a few persons of the House did.

IN THE COMMONS they did not make a *House*, as it is called; that is to say, there were not *forty* members present; and an *adjournment* took place.

FEBRUARY 8, 1822.

IN THE LORDS — Yesterday, on the motion of the *Earl of Liver-*

pool the *Standing Orders* about the time for Bills being before the House before being passed were *suspended*, in order to prepare the way for passing in *haste* a Bill about the Irish; or, rather, a notice of such motion was given for the next day.

IN THE COMMONS.—Mr. Coke, last night, presented a petition from the owners and occupiers of land in the county of *Norfolk*. Having called the House *corrupt* and *profligate*, the Speaker called him to order. He alluded to what Sir E. KNATCHBULL had said on the first day of the Session, and said he was not surprised at it, when he reflected on the persons who had held situations of profit as Sir Edward Knatchbull had done. He alluded, doubtless, to the post of *tax-collector*, which this man held in Kent, till he became member, and in which post he was succeeded by *one brother*, while another brother was *Consul at Nantz*! Mr. Coke, alluding to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said in Tuesday's debate; namely, that "to take off taxes would add to the distress," called the Ministers *callous*. Mr. Lockhart said, that he did not think them callous, but deficient in judgment, which was much more dangerous. On this occasion the Ministers received a *broadside*. It is impossible that they can get through this Session without a reduction of taxes. That is visible enough; and it is also visible, that they do not know what in all the world to do.

Irish Insurrection Bill, and *Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill*.—Castlereagh, the old, long-tried veteran in such service, last night moved for leave to bring in these

Bills, which motion was carried by a great majority, the first, indeed, even *without a division*; and the Bills were, on the instant brought in, read a first and second time, and ordered to be committed *to-day*. During this debate Sir Francis Burdett passed an extraordinary eulogium on the Elder Wellesley, now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and said, that he would rather trust *martial-law* in his hands, than pass the proposed Bills! He extolled this Wellesley for his *liberality* and *humanity*! See, for a long commentary on this, Register, Vol. 41, page 385.

FEBRUARY 9, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night the House adjourned, with notice to meet to-day, in order to receive the *Bills on Ireland* from the COMMONS.

IN THE COMMONS.—Last night the two terrible Bills were *passed* in twenty-four hours from the time of their being brought in. They were carried by a majority of 109 to 28! Upon this occasion Lord Folkestone made an excellent speech, in which he expressed sentiments relative to the Elder Wellesley precisely the contrary of those expressed the night before by Sir Francis Burdett. Lord Folkestone did himself great honour by this speech; and, as it is of the very greatest importance, we shall insert it here just as we find it in the reports. We may, we think, naturally expect, that this work will be read some years hence; and we really cannot refrain from doing justice to this manly and public-spirited act of Lord Folkestone.

"Lord Folkestone could not let those obnoxious measures pass,

without entering his decided protest against them. His Right Hon. Friend (Sir J. Newport) had told the House, that on account of the high character of the Noble Marquis, who called for these two Bills, he would waive his opinion, and withdraw his opposition to them. There was no authority, with reference to Irish affairs, to which he would sooner bow, than to that of his Right Hon. Friend; but when he said that he would waive his own fixed opinion, that he would forego the modification of those measures which he had contemplated, because he admired the talents of the Noble Marquis, and approved of his former conduct, he (Lord Folkestone) could not participate in those feelings; he could not allow his confidence to carry him so far. When he saw in that House last night 190 gentlemen, ready to sacrifice the constitution of the country, without consideration, without any proof being given that such a sacrifice was necessary, or that it could be of any use—when he saw them ready to do this, at the mere motion of the Minister, he confessed that it filled his mind with horror, shame, disgust, and, he would say, with indignation. (Hear, hear.) He could not but view with feelings stronger than he could express, the conduct of those who wantonly surrendered the constitution of the country into such hands. (Hear, hear.) This practice had become more and more the custom of the House. On the smallest grounds, indeed in each instance the last was less than the preceding, the liberties of the country were tamely surrendered; and where such a system was regularly pursued, what were they to expect in the course of a few years? He hoped the people would bear in mind how they had been treated on this occasion. The meeting of Parliament had been postponed to an unprecedentedly late period; and when it was assembled, they were addressed by a

speech remarkable for its omission with respect to the state of the country. One fourth of that speech related to the people of Ireland; and it spoke of that country in such terms, as must render it impossible for any one who had read the passage to believe that Ireland was in that state of outrage and rebellion which the Noble Lord had described. (Hear, hear, hear.) That the people of that country should be up in arms—that they should have taken the field, as it were, against the military force—in short, that they should be in a state of open rebellion, and yet that His Majesty, at the opening of the Session, should speak of them as he had done, was to him quite inconceivable. His Majesty said—“that a spirit of outrage, which had led to daring and systematic violation of the law, had arisen, and still prevailed, in some parts of the country.” But outrage and a systematic violation of the law, were very different from rebellion, and were perfectly distinguishable from what the Noble Lord had described. The papers which had been presented to the House (and they were the most meagre, the most unsatisfactory things that could possibly be conceived, on which to found any measure whatsoever) did not support the sweeping statement of the Noble Lord. But, if the country were in a state of rebellion, it was in that state, as was observed by a Noble Lord (Mountcharles) who was generally a supporter of the Minister and his colleagues, and whose authority was therefore entitled to some consideration, in consequence of the negligence, the inattention, and the apathy of His Majesty’s Government. The Hon. Member for Donegal told them, that this state of outrage and disquiet had continued for several months, and that if Ministers had called Parliament together in the month of November, much difficulty had been avoided, and much

bloodshed would have been spared. If that were the case, who was accountable for the state of rebellion in which the Noble Lord had described the country to be plunged? None but himself and his colleagues. And were these the individuals to whom the House, in its confidence, would intrust all these great powers? Were those the persons whom they were bound to believe, when they declared that those powers were necessary? Besides, as his Right Hon. Friend had said, these remedies were not applicable to the state of things which the Noble Lord had described. With respect to the *Habeas Corpus* Suspension Act, he could not see how it applied in any way whatever to the situation of Ireland, as stated by the Noble Lord. Indeed, the Noble Lord had not said that it did apply.—His observation was, that a state of things might possibly occur, in which the operation of such a measure would be useful. Was, then, the *Habeas Corpus* Act of so little importance, that it was to be dispensed with, in expectation of some contingency, and in the absence of any adequate cause for its suspension? Was it of so little consequence, that Parliament might suspend it as a measure of anticipation? One gentleman had stated, that he considered the Insurrection Act a very proper measure, but that he looked on the *Habeas Corpus* Suspension Act as improper and unnecessary. But that gentleman added, that he would support the latter, because he approved of the former, and he did not like to divide his votes. (Hear.) This was the way in which such incongruous measures were carried. There was no evidence whatsoever of the existence of rebellion.—Where was it to be found? Certainly not in the King's Speech, nor in the papers that had been laid on their table. But if disturbances existed in some districts,

and those small ones it appeared, was that to be advanced as a sufficient reason for suspending the liberties of the whole people of Ireland?—(Hear.)—His Right Hon. Friend had said that he would not oppose those measures if they were called for by the Marquis Wellesley. Now, to the assertion that the Marquis Wellesley had called for those powers, he would give the answer which an Hon. Gentleman had given last night—namely, that he did not believe the Marquis Wellesley wanted such powers to be placed in his hands by Parliament.—(Hear.)—If he did request them, they would have been favoured with some evidence to prove, at least, that such was his wish. It would, indeed have been the manifest interest of Ministers to lay that evidence before the House. But the spirit of the Noble Marquis's observations, and the statement contained in those papers, would bear the inference, that he did not desire those powers, and that he did not conceive the country to be in a state of rebellion.—(Hear.)—This was a plain view of the case; and he could never agree to concede such extraordinary powers to the Crown, or indeed any powers whatever, on the mere *ipse dixit* of a Minister, which was nothing more than air, and might be uttered at one moment, and forgotten the very next.—(Hear.)—The temper and character of the Marquis Wellesley had been frequently alluded to as an argument for fearlessly intrusting those powers to his hands. This argument had no weight with him. Power was a very tempting possession, and it had always been found that, when individuals were invested with extensive authority, the more they had, the more they wished to have. The mind of the Marquis Wellesley was of that species which delighted in the acquirement and exercise of power; and it should not be forgotten that, at one

period, he enjoyed despotic power. He had, it was true, ran a most brilliant career, but that circumstance did not lessen, in his mind, the danger of intrusting him with absolute authority. Buonaparte also ran a brilliant career, but he was a great tyrant. The splendour of his achievements might be admired, but would any one be inclined, on account of that splendour of his achievements, to clothe him with despotic power?—(Hear.)—The mind of the Marquis Wellesley was of that lofty description, his character was of that determined nature, which might lead him to render his already brilliant career still more brilliant, by the exercise of despotic power. Such power, in his opinion, ought to be confided to no person; and least of all was it calculated for such a man as the Marquis Wellesley, who, from his long habits, would perhaps be the most anxious to dispossess it. He meant nothing disrespectful to the Noble Marquis; but he thought he had shown that the only reasons given by his Right Hon. Friend for freely conceding those great powers to the head of the Irish Government were not valid ones. He (Lord F.) recollected, in the early part of his parliamentary life, that the mode in which the Noble Marquis had formerly exercised power, became the subject of inquiry in that House; and he must say, that the manner in which he appeared to have used his authority was not of such a nature as would tempt him to place power in the hands of that Nobleman again.—(Hear.)—Transactions, it appeared, had taken place in India—transactions with which the Marquis Wellesley was intimately connected—which could not be remembered without exciting feelings of pain. Never could he forget the sort of conduct which the Noble Marquis pursued towards the unfortunate princes who came within his grasp, and towards the unfortunate countries which he

subjugated for the East India Company.—(Hear.)—His proceedings with respect to the Nabob of Oude, the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Peishwa, and other princes, were memorable instances of the gross abuse of power, and of the greatest cruelty. His conduct partook of the spirit which distinguished the the proceedings of all those who were possessed of despotic power. The same conduct was pursued by Buonaparte, when he wielded the power and resources of France, towards all the governments which he subjugated. Having acquired this knowledge of the Noble Marquis's conduct in India, he confessed that he did not feel very willing to place those extraordinary powers in his hands. He had, he believed, stated his sentiments in a parliamentary way. He had no reason for concealing his opinions; and he thought he had said enough to show, that there was nothing in the conduct of the Noble Marquis to justify the House in placing those exorbitant powers at his disposal. Another point of argument had been used on this occasion, which appeared to him to be equally fallacious; and it, too, rested on personal character. The Noble Lord had told them that the Insurrection Act was drawn up and prepared by a Right Hon. Gentleman, the present Attorney-General for Ireland, and formerly a Member of that House. It was said, as he had sided on many public questions with those who opposed Ministers, that therefore his authority must have considerable weight, in proving that Government were actuated by a just and liberal spirit. But this authority also failed; for two years ago, when the celebrated Six-Acts were passed, he recollected the definition that Learned Gentleman gave of liberty. He stated that "liberty was the power of doing that which the law enabled a man to do;" under which definition the

Turkish, the Hindoo, the Algerine people—but not the people of Ireland, when the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended—would enjoy as much liberty as the people of England, notwithstanding all the securities and safeguards with which our forefathers had surrounded our rights and privileges. This Learned Gentleman thinking, perhaps, that the people of England had too much liberty, treated them with the Insurrection Act. With respect to the application of those laws, not one individual amongst those who supported them could show how they applied to the state of the country. They wanted something, it seemed; and they were willing to put up with these bills, without troubling themselves about the efficacy of their operation. It was melancholy to see the House of Commons brought to this situation—that in the absence of all reason and evidence, at the mere beck and invitation of the Minister, they were willing on the preceding night to force these Bills through all their stages. The House was now running a career most fatal to the country. Viewing, with feelings of alarm, the inroads which were daily making on the constitution, he should oppose both these Bills, but most particularly that which suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act.—(Hear, hear.)

Castlereagh, in answer to this speech, said a great deal, but attempted to prove nothing. We will give his words; for we love fair play.

“This was not the first time that the Noble Lord had manifested a disposition to form a contrast with those whose principles he generally advocated; and to-night he exhibited a most notable contrast to the gentlemen around him. He appeared to have risen more for the purpose of attacking the Marquis of Wellesley, than of imparting any information to the House.

(Hear.)—Now, he would; in a few words, state how the facts stood to which the Noble Lord had alluded, and he would then leave them, like other facts in our history, to carry their conviction with them, perfectly convinced that the character of the Noble Marquis would not suffer in public estimation. (Hear, hear.)—It was matter of notoriety, that Parliamentary proceedings relative to the conduct of Marquis Wellesley were instituted some years ago. He did not know whether the Noble Lord was the prosecutor in his own person on that occasion, or whether he was the associate of another person named Paull, who had found his way into the House of Commons. The Marquis Wellesley had at that time, terminated his brilliant career in India. He had returned crowned with laurels from the seat of that government which he had so long and so ably administered, and he carried with him the love and admiration of all who had witnessed his exertions. He found, however, on his arrival here, that instead of sitting down to enjoy the well-earned fruits of his honourable labours, he had to travel through a long investigation of his conduct at the instance of the individual whom he had just named. Considerable delay in consequence intervened, before he received that homage which was justly due to his talents and integrity, and which he did ultimately receive in spite of all opposition. He believed there never was an accusation brought within the walls of that House, which imparted more painful sensations to men of dignified feelings—(Hear, hear.)—nor one, the defeat of which was hailed with greater pleasure.—(Hear, hear.)—The Noble Lord had applied the word “cruelty” to the conduct of the Marquis Wellesley; but he would assert, and he would appeal to the Right Hon. Gentleman (Sir J. Newport) who sat on

the Noble Lord's right, whether the Noble Marquis was not the last man in the world to whose conduct such an epithet ought to be applied.—(Hear, hear.)—The Noble Lord afforded a solitary instance of a desire to promulgate opinions which were at variance with those held by all other men. To-night, while all those around him were blazing in admiration of the public and private conduct of the Marquis of Wellesley—when they appeared almost ready to confide supreme power to him, the Noble Lord stood forward to attack his character. He congratulated the Noble Lord on the station which he had assumed, a station in the enjoyment of which he was sure no person would disturb him."

For the history of the Elder Wellesley's conduct in India, and for an account of the manner in which the charges against him had been defeated in the House of Commons, see Register, vol. 41, p. 397.

Ilchester Gaol.—Mr. Alderman Wood presented a petition from Thomas Hunt, son of Henry Hunt, a prisoner in this gaol. A discussion of considerable length and animation arose hereupon, during which Sir Francis Burdett strongly animadverted on the severity of the sentence pronounced on the prisoner, and expressed his indignation that it should have been aggravated by the prisoner's treatment in gaol. Sir Francis applauded the conduct of Mr. Hunt, in bringing charges against Bridle, the gaoler; and contended, that the continued persecution of this individual was not less impolitic than it was cruel.—The Hon. Mr. G. Bennet took the same side, and said, that he could not help thinking, that the present privations of the prisoner in question were to be ascribed to his

exertions in bringing to light the real conduct of the gaoler.—Mr. Dickenson, Member for Somersetshire, denied this assertion of Mr. Bennet, and said, that the real ground of the prisoner's complaint was, that he was not allowed to be visited by a lady of the name of Vince, which was contrary to the rules of the gaol. Sir Thomas Lethbridge, the other Member for the county, said, that the indulgence given to Mr. Hunt was the real cause of all his complaints. If he had from the first been treated like other men, imprisoned for like offences, all the evils that had arisen would have been avoided.—Mr. Hobhouse answered the two county members; asked Mr. Dickenson whether he thought a son came within the description of "*improper connexions*;" and asked Sir T. Lethbridge, whether the detection of the use of thumb-screws was an "*evil*." Mr. Hobhouse alluded to a case, mentioned in a document on the table, of a sentence of *four years and a half imprisonment*, and said, that "*no more atrocious sentence could be pointed out even in the period alluded to in the reign of Charles the First.*"—The Attorney-General, taking Mr. Hobhouse to refer to the case of Mr. Carlile, said that it was several sentences. Mr. Hobhouse resented the coupling of his name with that of Mr. Carlile, which, however, he might have obviated by saying, that he meant JOSEPH SWANN, who, after having suffered *three months* (or thereabouts) of imprisonment for want of bail before trial, was, by the *Justices of Cheshire*, sentenced to four years and a half of imprisonment, in

Chester Gaol, for selling pamphlets and for *being present* (without speaking) at a *Reform Meeting*! This case, the case of this *labouring man*, who had a *wife and four small children*, Mr. *Hobhouse* might have contrasted with the *three months' walk* of his Honourable Colleague in the custody of the Marshal of the Court of King's Bench!—The *Attorney General*, in answer to what had been said about the *trial* of Mr. *Hunt*, said, that the defendant had *chosen the county* wherein to be tried; that, during the trial, the learned judge had been so much praised by Mr. *Hunt*, that that venerable person had been, in order to uphold his own dignity, compelled to bid the defendant to cease his praises; and that, *after the decision*, the learned judge had been complimented by Mr. *Hunt* on his fairness and impartiality. Yet, that learned judge had declared, that the verdict was quite *satisfactory to his mind*; and the same learned judge, in passing the sentence, had observed, that “the offence of which the defendant had been convicted approached very nearly to *high treason*.” All this only shows the danger of *praising your judge till you be acquitted*, or let off with a *three months' walk*. The debate was closed by Mr. *Alderman Wood*, who, in moving that the petition be printed, assured the House, that he had seen Mr. *Hardy*, the present gaoler of *Ilchester*, who declared, that he had not the *slightest reason to complain of the conduct of the prisoner*; which certainly goes very far towards proving, that the restraints complained of were altogether *unnecessary*, and, if unnecessary, they

were, as Sir Francis Budett called them, an *aggravation of the sentence*.

Mr. *Waithman*.—A petition was presented at the bar by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London relative to the *conduct of the military* at Knightsbridge, when Mr. *Waithman's* authority was opposed. The petition was received.

FEBRUARY 11, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—On Saturday the 9th, the two *Irish Bills* were carried through *all their stages and passed*! and the House adjourned at *half-past ten o'clock*! There was, in fact, except from Lords *Holland* and *King*, no opposition to the Bills. There was only one observation made that we think it necessary to notice: that of Lord *Ellenborough*, who said, that he believed, that *impunity* was the great source of outrage in Ireland! *Distress*, then, had, in his opinion, nothing to do with the matter.

FEBRUARY 12, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—The *Royal Assent* was, last night, given by commission, to the two *Irish Bills*. Thus, these two Bills became *laws* within *seventy-two hours* from Castlereagh's proposing them to the House of Commons, though a Sunday made part of the time. The duration of the Bills, *six months*.

IN THE COMMONS.—Mr. *Brougham* brought forward a motion on the subject of the *distress of agriculture*. He concluded a speech of *three or four hours* with a motion in the following words: “That it is the bounden duty of this House, well considering the pressure of public burdens on all classes of the community,

"and particularly on the agricultural classes, to pledge itself to obtain for a suffering people such a reduction of taxation as would afford them effectual relief." The mover, with all the great ability that he possesses, went into the state of the country in almost every branch of its affairs. It was, perhaps, his design to make a display of his knowledge, and to show his superiority over the Ministers. But, the motion was premature. He could not expect to carry it. The landlords have not yet heard the plans of the Ministers; and the distress is not yet what it will appear before the end of the Session. Lord Castlereagh spoke next after Mr. Brougham; but, as to answering him, what answer to such a speech was to come from such a man? In short, there was no answer at all; but, in the old hacknied style, an accusation against Mr. Brougham, that he wanted to get into place. As a specimen of this kind of answering we will insert a passage from Castlereagh's speech.

"He felt the difficulty of rendering himself intelligible without disclosing the plan which it was his intention to propose to the House at a future period; but he cautioned Members from coming hastily to a conclusion upon the materials furnished to them by the Hon. and Learned Gentleman. He would put it to the House, whether the proposed resolution was any thing more or less than a censure on His Majesty's Government? In the name of God, if this was the feeling of the House—If they were thus disposed to repose confidence in the Hon. and Learned Gentleman—let him at once take charge of the government of the country. (Loud cries of hear, from the Opposition benches.) They could not wish

surely be a greater recommendation of his fitness for office than the rash blindness with which that confidence was to be reposed in him; and having attained office, his best recommendation would be the resolution which he now proposed to that House, if that House were blind enough to adopt it.—(Hear, hear, and a laugh.)—If the House were inclined to place such confidence in the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, they would be doing an injustice to the country in allowing him to remain longer at that side of the House; but the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, in such an event, could hardly be so rash as to stand by the speech which he had made that night. If he were on his (Lord Londonderry's) side of the House, no doubt his first recommendation would be, that the House should pause before they adopted the doctrines which he had in that speech recommended; for no man could be more seriously impressed than himself with the difficulty and danger of having such principles impressed upon the House.—But the object of the Hon. and Learned Gentleman was not to bring the House to a decision on these points. He had embraced the present opportunity of making a party attack. The Hon. and Learned Member had been recently elevated to a high situation among his party; for if the rumour of the few last days were true, he had been raised to that trust which the public supposed to reside in the Hon. Member for Aberdeen.—(Hear, and laughter.)—He did not mean to say that the Hon. Member was not well qualified for the task, or had entirely given it up, or perhaps he would act while the Hon. and Learned Gentleman was going the circuit. The present was, as he had observed, quite a party question, but it was one well calculated to mislead those for whom it was intended. He trusted, however, that this premature attempt would be met

a rebuke, similar to that with which a like motion made by a Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Tierney) on a former occasion, was received, when another party question was raised on the state of the nation."

Such was the answer given by the Minister to a speech which treated of *all the great affairs of the country*. Indeed the Minister understood nothing at all of those affairs. A child of a year old is as able to answer Mr. Brougham as Lord Castlereagh is. Wholly unable to do this, he flies off in the manner that we have seen, utters some flippant stuff about the movers *wanting to get into place*, and thus covers his ignorance and inability.—Mr. Calcraft spoke in favour of the motion, and complained most bitterly of the *inattention* of the House. Mr. Ricardo made a speech well worth reading; not on account of its wisdom; but, on account of some curious matter that we shall hereafter have to refer to. We will insert it entire; because, as our readers will see, it relates to *all* the notable doctrines and projects of this famous "*Oracle*."

"Mr. Ricardo said, taxation was not the cause of the present agricultural distress. A country might be totally without taxes, and yet in the exact situation that England was at present. It was consistent enough in those who thought that the restoration of the currency had made a change of 50 or 56 per cent. in the value of money, and had consequently increased the actual value of the taxes in that proportion, though their nominal amount still remained the same, to say that taxation was the chief cause of the distressed state of agriculture; but it was impossible for those who held that the restoration in the currency had not created any thing like so great a change, to accede to such a state-

ment, or to give their vote in favour of the proposition which his Hon. and Learned Friend had that evening submitted to the House. He thought that the landholder might be enabled to receive an *adequate rent* without any breach of faith being committed towards the stockholders. With regard to the stockholders, it might be supposed, from the language which had been used that evening, that it had been proposed to transfer to them the property of the landholders, and to leave the landholders *entirely without resources*. Now such a proposition never had been, and never could be, seriously propounded; but though he said that, he was prepared to assert that it would be most advisable both for the landholder and the stockholder, that the former should surrender to the latter a part of his property in liquidation of the debt that had been contracted. Indeed, as the stockholder received in the shape of interest, taxes from the landholder, it might be said that a part of the land did at this moment *absolutely belong to him*. [Tumultuous cries of "*Hear!*" from both sides of the House.] He would suppose, that during the war the Minister had come into the House, and, after stating the necessity of the case, had called upon the country gentlemen to give up a certain portion of their property in a direct manner to the exigencies of the state; must they not, in that case, have *absolutely parted with a portion of it*? and if at that time others advanced for them that capital which they had not in an immediately tangible shape, was it not right that the capital so advanced should *now be repaid to them*? He was not demanding for the stockholder more than he was entitled to receive; he was merely demanding that in a compact such as he had described, the terms should be fairly and honourably fulfilled towards him. These were all the observations which he should obtrude at present upon the House:

on a future occasion he should explain the reasons why he thought that the alteration produced in the value of money by the restoration of the currency, had been greatly over-stated; and then he should endeavour to show, that if proper measures had been taken at the time of passing Mr. Peel's Bill, the resumption of cash payments would have produced no effect whatsoever on the price of corn and other agricultural produce."

This nonsense has been uttered so often that we shall not waste our time in any comment upon it. It is sufficient, that we give the words of the *Oracle*. They will, by-and-by, serve to show how it is that the nation has been ruined. The fact of the ruin will be clear enough: the cause of it also will be clear enough: but it will be of the greatest utility to possess a knowledge of the *erroneous notions* that produced the cause.—Mr. *Brougham*, in the reply, with which the debate closed, repaid the taunts of Castle-reagh in the following manner.

"By foul or fair means, by wheedling one party or menacing another, by joking with a third, or threatening a fourth, that he will resign — that *ultimum supplicium* which he reserves for his followers — (Hear, hear, hear,) — the Noble Marquis trusted that he should be able to postpone for some time the evil day upon which taxation must inevitably be reduced. The threat of resignation was the whip with which the Noble Lord used to flog up the sinking spirits of his adherents, whenever he was hard pressed on the subject of retrenchment, or whenever he saw that the feeling of the country was producing an effect on its representatives, or at least on those who ought to be its representatives. — (Cheers.) — In all such cases, the Noble Marquis held out the threat of resignation, which spread mighty alarm

among his dependents, but not the slightest amongst the mass of his countrymen. — (Cheers.) He (Mr. Brougham) had not known how the present motion would be decided; but in whatever way it might be decided, he was quite sure that the Noble Lord would not carry his threat of resignation into effect. — (Cheers.) — He offered it as a topic of consolation to the Noble Lord's trembling adherents, that the present minority, if the Noble Lord should be so unfortunate as to be in one, would not be the first in which he had stood: and though on the former occasion he had said, that such a circumstance might lead him to throw up his employments, there he still sat on the Treasury bench in full possession of them all. — (Cheers.) — He must confess, however, that in the face of such threats as the Noble Marquis had held out to the country gentlemen, he had not much expectation of their votes. (Cheers.) To remind them, however, of what their duty was, he should simply state, that every gentleman who voted for the previous question, must either believe that the reduction of taxes was an ingredient in the Noble Marquis's plan, or must hold himself up to the country as the enemy, and the effectual enemy, of a reduction of taxation. (Cheers.)

After this the House divided; when the motion was lost by a majority of 104, there being 108 for it, and 212 against it. We may plainly see, however, that the Ministers tremble for the taxes!

FEBRUARY 13, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night nothing worthy of particular notice.

IN THE COMMONS.—*Soldier and Sailor-Parsons*.—Mr. *Hume* moved for a return of such *military and naval half-pay officers* as were, at the same time, in HOLY OR-

DEERS! *Lushington*, one of the Treasury, saw *great difficulty* in making out such a return, and was not aware that any such case existed. Mr. *Hume* said he could point out several such cases. The return was *ordered to be made*; but, we are quite certain that it never will be made, as long as a majority stick to the present Ministers.

FEBRUARY 14, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night, nothing worth notice.

IN THE COMMONS.—A conversation took place about the *opening of a letter* from a prisoner in the *Hulks* to Mr. *Hume*. Mr. *Peel* contended, that the privilege of Members of Parliament did not extend so far as to make such letters sacred. Mr. *Brougham* maintained the contrary. Mr. *James* stated, that a letter he had sent to a prisoner in Lancaster Castle had been broken open; and gave notice of a motion on the subject.

Sir *Robert Wilson's* *dismissal*.—He had been dismissed from the army, in which he was on *half-pay, without cause assigned*; and he now moved for the correspondence relative to his dismissal; which motion was negatived, 199 against 97. On the one side it was contended, that the King had no authority to dismiss without a court-martial, and especially a *half-pay* officer, whose *half-pay* was money due for *past services*. The Ministers contended, that the king had always the right to dismiss at pleasure; and, that the *half-pay* was a *retaining fee for future services*. This last is certainly the sound doctrine; for, if the king had not the power of dismissal at pleasure, a band

of generals might be his and our masters; and the half-pay officers being always liable to be called on to serve again, the money they receive is certainly to be looked upon as given for the purpose of *retaining their services*; but, then, what the devil becomes of the right on which men, now become *parsons*, receive *military and naval half-pay*; seeing, that, according to law, their *holy* character is *indelible*?—Surely this most monstrous abuse is not to continue to exist!

FEBRUARY 15, 1822.

NOTHING in either House last night.

FEBRUARY 16, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night the Battle Petition relative to Agricultural distress.

IN THE COMMONS.—A great number of petitions on *Agricultural Distress*. Amongst the rest one from the county of *Suffolk*, presented by Gaffer *Gooch*. This prayed for *relief and Reform*. The Gaffer in presenting this petition took occasion to observe, that Parliamentary Reform *would not add one shilling a quarter to the price of grain!* To this Mr. *Bennet* answered, that it would prevent the farmer's money from being *needlessly taken out of his pocket*. But, *what a head*, as the French exclaim, to run upon nothing but rise of those prices, which nothing but a repeal of Peel's Bill can cause to rise! We do not want *reform* for the purpose of raising the price of corn; but, for the purpose of enabling the farmer to *live*, and to *sell at a low price too!* That is what we want a reform for, Gaffer: to put

a stop to the *pay* of your relations, and to lower the taxes.

Westminster Petition.—In presenting this petition for reform and for reduction of taxes, Sir Francis Burdett, took occasion to express his *dissent* from the opinions of his constituents, as to that part of their petition, which spoke of the *ruinous consequences of Peel's Bill*. It is curious enough, that whenever the Honourable Baronet differs in opinion with the petitions of his constituents, they are always *right* and he *wrong*. It was thus in the case of the *Corn Bill*, as to which he has confessed his error; and, it is thus here, and he will confess it too before another year is over his head. We must, however, take his words here; for we shall certainly see him flatly contradict them hereafter.

"That part of the petition in which he did not entirely concur, was a clause in which the petitioners stated that they attributed the distress now felt, in particular by the agricultural interest, to Mr. Peel's Bill, or, in other words, to the raising of the currency. He did not mean to take up the time of the House by combating this position at length; he would merely state, that his reason for not concurring in it was, that he had examined papers upon the table of the House from 1800 to 1821, from which it appeared that the price of agricultural produce, and the depreciation of money, had not kept that relative proportion and situation as to make it possible for him to draw the conclusion to which the petitioners had come. On the contrary, it was very remarkable, that when the depreciation was so slight as scarcely to be felt (perhaps not more than seven or eight per cent.), agricultural produce was at the highest; while at the

time of the greatest depreciation, the price of grain was frequently exceedingly low; nor did there appear to be any immediate or necessary connexion between the two.—(Hear.)—It seemed to him that to attribute any effect, except a beneficial one, to Mr. Peel's Bill, was the greatest of all possible mistakes; because it was to be seen, that three years before the passing of Mr. Peel's Bill, paper was nearly at par; therefore the whole effect had taken place long previous to the adoption of that measure by Parliament; and all it said, was, in fact, that the country should not again return to a depreciated currency."

Distress of the Country.—Now it was that Castlereagh brought forward his *plans*! The pretext for the speech was an unmeaning *motion for papers*, which was carried of course. Such a heap of nonsense as this speech contained has seldom been put forth upon one single occasion, even by this man.—His "*plans*" all centered, at last, in a project for *lending the landlords 4,000,000*l.* out of the taxes*! This they are to repay in a time of *higher prices*! Any thing so degrading to human intellect as this scheme was never before thought of. It is really worthy of the most raving regions of bedlam; and yet, the man who put it forward had the effrontery to conclude his speech in the following words:

"Sure he was, that he was addressing an assembly, composed, in the far greater part, of those who still venerated the name of the *illustrious Pitt*, and were steadfast in acting as they believed he would have advised. They would not be disposed to abandon the great landmarks which his genius had pointed out, or blast the hopes of their country, by tearing down with a

sacrilegious hand, those barriers which he had raised for the *protection of public credit*, and the lasting glory of our constitution. The Commons of England who had followed and supported him through the black and dreary period of our contest with revolutionary France, — who had, after he was withdrawn from us, continued to tread in his footsteps, and had thus given full effect to the policy he prescribed to that country which he loved and which he saved, notwithstanding the counsels of gentlemen opposite, and undaunted by all their melancholy forebodings—they who had persevered in displaying the invincible spirit which Mr. Pitt's *example inspired*, till the object was attained, and till the tyrant was chained to the rock; would not now sacrifice principles which had led to so glorious a result.—(Loud cheering)—Had the Hon. and Learned Gentleman (Mr. Brougham) ten times more eloquence than he possessed, he would fail to induce the House of Commons to violate principles so firmly rooted, or to trust to chance, and to untried experiments, for results buried in the womb of time. He felt himself called upon on *this solemn occasion* to remind Parliament of those great outlines of our past and present policy; and, ill as he had performed the task, it would have been a complete dereliction of the duty incumbent on him, had he abstained from enforcing principles, under which it was the *boast of ministers* that their measures had hitherto been directed.—(Cheers.)—If the great man whose memory he had invoked were to descend once more among them, and find a House of Commons deliberating whether or not they would *abolish the Sinking Fund*, his feeling must be, not so much dismay at the consequences, as *disgust at the weakness* which would inflict such a fatality on the nation. He now submitted the whole question to a

tribunal, in the judgment of which he was always prepared to rest implicit confidence—he meant the judgment of that House.—(Loud cheers were re-echoed from all sides.)—The voice of Parliament would decide it, and in a manner at once beneficial to their country, honourable to themselves, and satisfactory to their constituents—in a manner that would *consecrate and consolidate the principles* to which he now appealed, and secure the greatness and power of the country to the latest posterity."

Mr. Brougham lashed the vapourer well, and also his adherents. But, this is the sort of stuff which has so long prevailed; though we may be well assured, that it cannot prevail much longer. *Wheat at 4s. a bushel* will put an end to the delusion.

FEBRUARY 19, 1829.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night nothing but matter of form.

IN THE COMMONS.—Lord Castlereagh moved for the re-appointment of the *Agricultural Committee*. There was no opposition offered to this, and only two things occurred worth notice. The first was, Mr. Huskisson having had the *Agricultural Report of 1821* imputed to his pen, said, "that he was surprised to hear himself charged with being the author of the Report. The fact was this: the Committee did him the honour to request he would draw up a Report in the spirit of their resolutions. He appealed to Gentlemen who were on the Committee, to say whether he did not decline the task: but they pressed it so strongly, that he at last drew up the report upon the resolutions. It was discussed paragraph by paragraph."

"It underwent alterations, and he himself expressed his dissent to some of them, although he did not object to the Report as a whole. The Right Hon. Gentleman stated this, to show he was not fairly dealt with, when the Report was ascribed to any one member of the Committee."—The second was an oracular gust of Mr. Ricardo, who said, "With regard to the effect of the agricultural distress upon the country, instead of the country altogether being in a state of distress, he considered it to be in a flourishing condition (Hear.)—It was only a few years ago that great alarm was excited in consequence of the manufacturing and commercial interests. He then predicted that a short time would restore things to their natural course, and the event justified that prediction (Hear, hear.)—He had now strong hopes that agriculture would not long remain in its present depressed state."—The Members appointed to form the Committee were, Lord Castle-reagh, Mr. Gooch, Mr. Frederick Robinson, Lord Althorp, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Huskisson, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Mr. Wortley, Mr. Baring, Sir H. Parnell, Mr. Wodehouse, Mr. Western, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Sturges Bourne, Mr. Tremayne, Sir William Rowley, Mr. Calthorpe, Mr. Blair, Mr. Irving, Sir Thomas Lethbridge, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Ald. Bridges, Mr. Nicolson Calvert, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Denis Browne, Mr. F. Lewis, Lord Cranborne, Lord Binning, Mr. W. Lamb, Mr. Goulburn, and Sir John Newport. Power

to send for persons, papers, and records. Five to be the quorum.

FEBRUARY 20. 1822.

NOTHING done in either House last night.

FEBRUARY 21, 1822.

NOTHING in the LORDS last night.

IN THE COMMONS.—*Ilchester Gaol.*—Another discussion on this subject, but little of novelty presented itself, especially after our full notice of the former debate on the same matter.

Scotch Burghs. A motion by Lord Archibald Hamilton for the House to go into a Committee on these *sink-holes*. It was negatived 81 to 46; and that was right; for we are against all *sham* reform.

FEBRUARY 22, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Nothing last night of any importance.

IN THE COMMONS.—A motion by Lord Althorp, "That in the opinion of this House, the reduction in the amount of taxation, proposed by His Majesty's Ministers, is not sufficient to satisfy the just expectations of the country." This was negatived 234 to 126.—In the course of the debate Mr. T. Wilson, a Member for London, recommended, that, instead of taking 1,500,000*l.* off the malt tax, the Ministers should employ the money in the purchase of corn, till the price rose from 55*s.* to 66*s.* a quarter!—How? Suppose it should *never* rise to 66*s.*? What, then? Why, this would be just 1,500,000*l.* given to corn-dealers!

We happen to know two gentlemen of the name of *Wilson* who are corn-dealers. We thought, at first, that this might be one of them; but we believe, they are only the *brothers* of the Hon. Member for the City, who, doubtless, thought his proposition would be useful to the country at large, though we think him to have been deceived.

FEBRUARY 23, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, last night, nothing at all worth notice.

IN THE COMMONS, in a Committee of ways and means, there were some curious facts came out. We shall state them at full length for the *future* benefit of the parties, and for the present amusement of the public.

“Mr. Hume said, that he held a paper in his hand which would show the necessity there was of inquiring into the pension list, and making some reform in it. It was the only paper he had obtained of all those he moved for last Session, and it was a return of pluralities of pensions enjoyed by persons on the pension list. This document was returned from the Admiralty, and was signed, “James Dyer, chief clerk.” He would read the case of one gentleman, which was a little curious. This person, in 1809, being returned unfit for service, obtained a pension of 292*l.* 10*s.*; the year after he was made a Commissioner of Stamps; and the year after, being unfit for service, he obtained a pension of 600*l.*; but the next year again he was made Paymaster of seamen’s widows’ pensions, and he had now a pension for that of another 600*l.*—(Hear.) So that the whole of this gentleman’s income, from these several pensions, was altogether no less than 1,492*l.*—(Loud cheers from the

Opposition—cries of name, from the Ministerial benches.)

Sir J. Osborne: “I can state from my own knowledge, that this statement is quite incorrect.”—(Hear, hear.)

Mr. Hume said the only answer he would make to the observation of the Hon. Member, was to submit his document to be read by the clerk.—(Cheers.)

The Clerk then proceeded to read “Edward Finch Hatton, Inspector of tea and coffee, 292*l.* 10*s.*.”—(Tumultuous cheering.)—“Commissioner of Stamps, 600*l.*—(Hear, hear.)

Mr. Brogden, (Chairman of the Committee), here observed, that these sums made only 892*l.*, instead of 1,492*l.*

Mr. Hume: I can account for that; here are 292*l.* as Inspector of tea and coffee; 600*l.* as Commissioner of Stamps, and in a few days you will be called upon to vote 600*l.* more to this gentleman as Paymaster of widows’ pensions; do not 292*l.* and 600*l.* and 600*l.* make 1,492*l.*?

Sir John Osborne observed, that Mr. Hatton had been Under Secretary of State.

Mr. Hume said he knew nothing of that—here was a return from the Admiralty—(Hear)—and here also was a sample of correctness in a Lord of the Admiralty. The House ought to congratulate itself that it had now a Lord of the Admiralty who would state matters correctly.—(Cheers.)—He (Mr. Hume) had, however, to claim the protection of the House against a repetition of the interruption which he had received from the Hon. Lord (Sir J. Osborne), who, without any authority, undertook to contradict him flatly.—(Hear.)—Here was a return; and he now asked, was he to be put down by a bare assertion? He had mentioned only this little fact; but the paper contained many other cases, and he could lay his finger upon many

Members of this House as similarly circumstanced.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the document was returned from the Admiralty, because Mr. Hatton was Paymaster of Widows' Pensions. His pensions were a reward for his general services.—(A laugh.)—The place which he formerly filled was one of great trust (laughter), and he retired from the office of Under Secretary of State without any provision being made for him. It was to reward him that he obtained the situation of Paymaster, to which he also joined that of Commissioner of Stamps. He was now retired from this latter situation upon a pension.

This Mr. *Finch Hatton* is a person to be looked up, one of these days. We shall, we are quite sure, find him belonging to the *Normans*. He figures in *Peep at Peers*.

FEBRUARY 26, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night, nothing but matters of form.

IN THE COMMONS.—Mr. *James* brought forward his motion, declaring it a breach of privilege in any one to break open the letter of a Member of Parliament; which had been done in the case of one of his letters, addressed to one of the Reformers, confined in Lancaster Gaol.—Lord *Stanley* (son of the Earl of Derby) opposed the motion; said that the Gaoler had a right to do it, being authorized by the magistrates; and, so the House determined by rejecting Mr. *James's* motion by a large majority! *Castlereagh* said, upon this occasion, that, he really “could not see any reason for any secret correspondence between a Member of that

House and any prisoner in a “gaol!” He may learn to alter his opinion, perhaps, one day or other.

Five per Cent. Scheme.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his resolution for reducing the Five per Cents. which was agreed to.

Malt Duty.—A resolution to reduce the malt duty 1s. on the bushel, was also agreed to.

FEBRUARY 27, 1822.

THE COMMONS did not, last night, make a House.

IN THE LORDS.—The Earl of Liverpool, Prime Minister, brought forward, under the form of a motion for papers, his grand and general manifesto on the *State of the Country*. This was a sort of second edition, enlarged and improved, of *Castlereagh's* speech (See Saturday, 16th instant); and, like that, was full of the grossest absurdities. This manifesto is fully and completely answered and exposed in two *Letters* to the Prime Minister. See Register, vol. 31., p. 591. These are too long to insert here, without greatly swelling the volume. We must not omit, however, to notice, that Lord *King* did not suffer this stuff of the Minister to pass unexposed. His Lordship, thus happily ridiculed these absurdities.

Lord *King* said, that in the year 1811, the House of Commons had thought fit to put upon record the opinions of a very great personage (no less a man than the Chancellor of the Exchequer) on the subject of the currency; for a resolution had been entered on the Journals, which thus sagaciously opened—“Resolved, that in public estimation, and in the opinion of the peo-

ple of England, Bank notes are equal in value to gold."—(Hear, and laughter.)—In the same way he should suggest, that it would be wise in the House of Lords to register the opinion of the First Lord of the Treasury on the subject now under consideration, and it might be done in something like the following terms:—"Resolved, that in public estimation, and in the opinion of the people of England, the amount of taxation has not in any degree contributed to the existing distresses.—(Hear, hear.)—that taxation is no evil.—(Hear.)—that though France and Holland have also an excess of produce, their excess has occasioned much happiness, and our excess much misery—that the only fit mode of relieving that misery, is by the reduction of the rate of interest, and that the application of a surplus of 5,000,000*l.* to the Sinking Fund will most effectually accomplish that object."—(Hear, hear, from the Earl of Liverpool.) The Noble Earl seemed to approve of this resolution; and, indeed, as it was framed upon *his principles*, he was perfectly *welcome to it*, provided he would *enter upon the Journals*, and thereby record *his opinions* to posterity.—(Hear, and laughter.)—The leading article in the ministerial *ereed* was this, "*I believe that taxation is not the cause of distress;*" and the Noble Earl had taken infinite pains, by reference to Holland and America, and by the lucky wind-fall of the Address of the French Chamber of Deputies, to prove that other countries were suffering like this from what he termed an *excess of production*. Some of the kingdoms of Asia were also severely distressed, and might have been brought forward, had they suited the purposes of the Noble Earl, but their distress was occasioned by the too large drafts made by the Government upon the industry of the people. Such was precisely the condition of Great Britain. If

he understand the argument, it was this:—Taxation is not the cause of distress, because it does not produce cheap prices, and the cheapness of produce is the occasion of the existing sufferings. The Noble Earl, however, seemed to forget that taxation increased the cost of raising the produce, and that cost, and nothing else, was the real cause of distress.

FEBRUARY 28, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, last night, nothing of any interest.

IN THE COMMONS.—*Nottingham Gaol*.—A petition was presented by Sir Robert Wilson relative to the solitary confinement of Mr. Henry Hunt, which was received by the House, after a warm debate.

Remuneration Bill.—Mr. Creevey moved several resolutions with regard to the Bill for authorizing the King to grant pensions for services; all which resolutions were negatived by a large majority.

Navy Estimates.—A long discussion took place, in which the real merits of the matter were wholly overlooked in the endeavours of the Ministers to detect in Mr. Hume an *error in calculation*.

MARCH 1, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, last night, nothing but matters of form.

IN THE COMMONS.—A long and uninteresting debate about Mr. Waithman and the troops at Knightsbridge. Alderman Wood's motion for *inquiry* was rejected by a large majority.

Salt Tax.—Mr. Calcraft then brought forward his motion for a

repeal of the Salt Tax in part, which was negatived 169 to 165, leaving the Ministers a majority of only four.

MARCH 2, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, last night, nothing of importance.

IN THE COMMONS.—Sir *M. W. Ridley* made a motion for cutting off the salaries of *two of the Lords of the Admiralty*, which was carried against the Ministers by a majority of 54, there being 182 for the motion and 128 against it. Further pushes at the expenditure were made in a subsequent discussion on the Navy Estimates; but no deduction was obtained.

MARCH 5, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, nothing worth notice last night.

IN THE COMMONS.—Mr. Alderman Wood presented a petition from Mr. Henry Hunt, a prisoner in Ilchester Gaol, complaining of cruel treatment. The petition was received and ordered to be printed.

The *Army Estimates* occupied the rest of the sitting; but no reduction was effected, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Mr. Hume.

MARCH 6, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Nothing, as usual, last night.

IN THE COMMONS.—Mr. *Denison* obtained leave to bring in a Bill to put a stop to that species of swindling, which Quakers and other malignant people, enable roguish Attorneys to commit in suing for damages done by the

breaking of windows, at times of public illuminations.

MARCH 7, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, last night, mere matters of form.

IN THE COMMONS.—Mr. Bennet moved a resolution of censure on the Ministers for their conduct relative to the *funeral of the late Queen*.

MARCH 8, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, last night, nothing of interest.

IN THE COMMONS.—*Gaffer Gooch* presented the *Suffolk* Petition for reduction of taxes and Reform; and he expressed himself opposed to the latter part of it. A warm debate ensued, during which *Castlereagh* observed, that he would appeal from such Meetings to the *Education of the Country!* The Gaffer was severely attacked by Mr. *Coke*, and became, at last, very angry.

MARCH 9, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, last night, the *Marquis of Lansdowne* moved for papers, relative to the persons who had been prosecuted for selling *roasted wheat*. The Prime Minister moved the third reading of a Bill to authorize the *seizing of Arms in Ireland*, and to indemnify those *who had seized arms with legal authority!*—The Bill, after a few words from Lord Holland, was read a *third time and passed!*

IN THE COMMONS.—The evening was spent in a further discussion of the Bill for *reducing the Five per Cents.*

MARCH 11, 1822.

It is of advantage to take a review, now-and-then, of what has been said and done in this famous body; because the public is apt, amongst the mass of matter, with which those things, commonly called *Parliamentary Debates*, overlay the mind, to forget, and, in many cases, never clearly to understand, what is really *said* or *done* by the "Collective;" which, besides the quantity of matter it puts forth, is generally so much above the reach of the vulgar understanding, that is to say, so much out of the compass of mere common sense, as to the quality of that same matter, that it really does require a good sound head to come to a pause now-and-then, and to take time to *steady* itself before it attempts to follow this far-famed body further in its lofty mental excursions. Let modern philosophers say what they will about the inutility of religious regulations; and tell us that one day of the week is as good as another. Even if the ox and the ass did not feel the necessity of weekly rest; even if this humane regulation were not necessary to all who are employed in bodily labour, those, at any rate, who have to think of what passes in the Collective Wisdom, have good reason to be grateful to God that he ordained a Sabbath.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S GRAND EXPOSE. — Going back to this, which has been pretty well dealt with in the *two Letters* that appeared in this paper of Monday and Tuesday last, we have only to notice here a curious idea of Lord Lansdowne on that occasion. He said, that "taxation had a

tendency to *check consumption*." On *this ground*, and not on the *common-sense ground*, that taxes are taking away the capitals of farmers and tradesmen, the wages of labour, and the rents of landlords, his Lordship would reduce taxes. He would, to a certain extent, do the right thing; but his political profundity will not suffer him to do it for the *right reason*. And yet this is very material; because, if it be *consumption* that he wants, he falls into the doctrine of the Great Premier, *want of consumption and over-production* being, in fact, one and the same thing. Is it not monstrous to hear a man, and a Lord too, talk of *want of consumption*, when it is notorious, that more than three-fourths of the people have not a belly-full even of the coarsest food? When it is notorious, that the average wages of the manufacturers do not exceed 7s. a-week; and when the labourers in Norfolk and Suffolk are actually in commotion for the want of a sufficiency to eat? But, as to the reason and experience of the case: if you, by taxes, take the bread from the labourer, and give it to the fundholder's footman, do you thereby *lessen consumption*? Then, the fact is, that consumption has not been diminished *upon the whole*; but, as in the case of the soldier, if he now get twice as much as he got sometime back, does he not consume it all? Thus it is that the *revenue* may be kept up, and may even be augmented, while the labourer perish, and while the landlord shall lose his estate. — Such, my Lord Lansdowne, is the danger of maxims, taken from books, and put forth without practical

reflections.—More to Lord Lansdowne another time.—Lord Ellenborough expressed, on this occasion, his wish to see the farmers *relieved*, in order to “*take them out of the great body of discontent*, into which there *were persons attempting to seduce them!*” Very wise remark! Very natural wish; and all that is wanted is, to *give the relief*; but, as to that matter, his Lordship appears to have been silent.—As to what the Duke of Buckingham said, that is matter too *high* to be touched on in a mere review like this.

TITHES.—There was, on the 4th inst. in the Lower House of the “*Collective Wisdom*,” a little interesting talk upon this subject. The Government have, they say, the *Irish Tithes* under consideration; and Lord Ebrington asked the Ministers, whether they had in contemplation any measure relative to *English Tithes*! No, was the answer; but, it requires no great gifts of prophesy to see, that there will be some pretty *efficient measures* as to the whole of that species of public property, called “*Church Property*,” before we are much older. To *begin*, however, we venture humbly to conceive, that the 1,200,000*l.* given out of *taxes* to the “*poor clergy*” ought to be paid back again, if the Parliament were pleased to think well of it. When we consider how *rich* the Church is become, we cannot think it very unreasonable that it should keep its *own poor*. The petition from Ross prays, that the tithes of the livings, where the parsons *do not reside*, may be applied to public uses. This we very much approve of, especially if enough be left to pay the Curate.

ARMY ESTIMATES.—No reduction is, it seems, to be made; and, there is this comfort, that those who are in the army will now be paid chiefly out of *rents*. The soldiers *live well now*: and the more of the labouring classes we see getting a belly-full, the better we like it. The establishments are now very much the affair of the *landlords*. What they have in this way, they cannot have in *rent*. They cannot have the thing both in meal and in malt.

Mr. Scarlett is, it seems, after all, coming on again with his Poor-law Bill! Why, then, let us be *prepared*. Let us lay aside all other things for the while; for we shall here find employment for all our faculties!

MALT TAX.—Very curious! On Friday the 1st of March, Mr. Vansittart positively said the reduction was not to take place till the 5th of July. On *Monday* Mr. Gooch (from the opposition bench) asked him whether *he had changed his mind*; and he said *he had*, and that the tax was to cease in *February*! So that it would appear, that the *bench* that Mr. Gooch presses, while he is speaking, is of as much importance as his words; nay more; for the Chancellor continued firm as long as Mr. Gooch spoke from the bench on the other side.

QUEEN'S FUNERAL.—Mr. Bennet, in a very able manner, brought this matter forward on the 6th instant. There was no division. The motion he made was lost. And, in truth, the question excited no public interest. It had so long been confounded with the case of Sir Robert Wilson, that it had become a matter of choice, whe-

ther to take part with this Gentleman, or to keep silence. The latter was chosen by the *people*, to whom, and to whom alone, that lamented Lady ever owed any thing. Her cause is not to be *avenged* in this sort of way!

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—On the 8th, upon the presenting of the County of Suffolk Petition, Lord Castlereagh observed, that those who frequented Mark-lane, were “too sagacious to expect an *increase in the price of corn* from Parliamentary Reform.”—

Yes, and too sagacious *not* to expect from it a reduction of taxes, salaries, sinecures, pensions and grants; and a reduction of those enormous establishments which enrich the already rich at the expense of the industrious; and too sagacious not to expect, that it would save the remnant of the Farmer's capital and that of the non-tax-eating landlord's estate. But, he said, besides, that “the House should distinguish between the Resolutions of what was called a *County Meeting* and the *well-weighed* expression of the sentiments of the *property and education* of the country.”

—How long; how long, are we to endure this! So, it is come to this at last! Even a *County Meeting* is to have no weight. City Meetings and meetings of the people of their own accord have long been held in contempt by this man, and his abettors and co-operators; and now even a County Meeting, though called under all the restraints of Six-Acts, is to have no weight! It is now to be the “*education of the country*,” for the “*property was there*.”

That *education*, we suppose, is to be found in *Change Alley*, or in

those sublime regions, where the digging of holes one day and filling them up the next, is found out as a remedy for the distress of the farmers. But, what do we want more than this: has the education of the country been in power for the last thirty years? Is it in the Cabinet, or in the Parliament, now? If this be the case, *we now feel* the effects of being guided by “the *education of the country*.”

MARCH 12, 1822.

THE Five per Cent. Bill last night passed the House of Commons without any material amendments. And thus this measure may be said to have been adopted. It is a *real reduction of the interest of the debt* by Act of Parliament; but another, and far different reduction, is, we think, at no very great distance.

SOAP AND CANDLES.—Mr. Curwen gave notice, that, on Friday, he should propose a measure for augmenting the duty on foreign tallow; and follow it up with a motion for a reduction of the duties on *soap and candles*. This would be greatly beneficial to *Agriculture*. Certainly more than to the public in general. For, the advantage to the farmer is very great when he can make his own offal fat into soap and candles. The fat is now hardly worth twopence a pound, and the candles sell at from 8d. to 9½d. In a farm-house there are all the conveniences for making candles. Candles are, in America, amongst the articles of *produce* that the farmer sells.

MR. HUNT.—Sir Francis Burdett is to move an Address to the

King to-morrow week, for the release of Mr. Hunt, whom the high-blooded *Old Times* calls "*this man*," and which "*man*" it was glad to pay its court to, when it thought it probable, that he might be possessed of some degree of power to serve it. Very glad to see, that this Address is to be moved; we think, too, that John Swann whom the *Old Times* hunted into Chester Gaol for *four years and a half*, never can be suffered to remain there to the end of that time, without some effort to cause his release.

MUTINY BILL.—Mr. Hume expressed his intention of moving so to alter the *Mutiny Bill* as to take from the King the power of dismissing officers *without trial*. We are sorry for this, because we wish always to agree with Mr. Hume, who has rendered many real services to the country; and, we can never agree, that it would be proper to erect the officers of the army into a body dependant *only on one another*! If, indeed, the trial were to be by *jury and judge*, the case would be different. This cannot be. To make the officers the sole judges of the propriety of *dismissing officers* would, in fact, be to establish a perpetual *military corporation*; and, we know too well what civil corporations are to wish to see a military one: they are troublesome enough with gowns and maces; what a corporation with whisks and swords would be, it is not very difficult to imagine!

PLACEMAN'S BILL.—The principal subject of the evening's discussion was a bill, or resolutions preparatory to a bill, brought forward by Mr. Vansittart, for settling the allowances that per-

sons in the several offices are to enjoy on their *retirement*, or, what is called, their *superannuation*. We have not now room for details, for which other opportunities will offer; but, some prominent points we may catch. And, first, as to the *principle*, we perfectly agree with Mr. Marryatt, who made a very sensible speech, and one that, as we think, ought to have convinced any one who heard it of the impolicy of any such measure. What, indeed, is to give a public officer any claim to pay, when his services cease, any more than a private Secretary, or Clerk? And would such a thing ever have been *thought of*, if these persons, through the Borough influence, were not *fastened* upon the fruit of the people's labour? It is the way, too, to have *bad* public servants; and, as a proof of this, did it ever yet enter into the head of any *merchant*, who *must* have *good* ones, to adopt such a system? Emulation, industry, exertion, enterprise, are, and must be, out of the question, if *time*, and time alone, is to produce a pension *for life*. In short, as has long been the case in the diplomatic line, *interest*, as it is called, is to be the qualification for public employ, and public employ for some years is to be a qualification for a pension for life! In laying this proposition before the House, the Chancellor stated certain reductions which are to take place in some of the salaries, and also, that the King had voluntarily given up 30,000*l.* of the Civil List. This drew forth some observations, which we cannot even now pass over in silence.—Much was said about the *generosity* of this

on the part of *the King*. We choose to consider the King as *out of the question*. We ascribe the act to the Ministers, and are very far indeed, from thinking it *generous*. The *Civil List* is higher in *nominal* amount than it was in 1813, and, as compared with farm-produce, it is *three times as high*! Is it generous, therefore, to abate about a *tenth* part of it? Is this showing that the Ministers (for it is they and their relations) wish to share in the *distresses* of the country? Is it much *distress* to receive a tenth part less, for doing little or nothing, than was received before?—And, observe, it is not yet even hinted at to touch *pensions* and *sinecures*, though many of them were granted when prices were at their height! The salaries of the *Judges* were *doubled* during high prices; and are *these* not to be *lowered*? Not a word is said about them in the Chancellor's speech. Lord Castlereagh took occasion to say, that he "had almost said that Parliament was *incompetent* to meddle with the *Civil List*!" Indeed! We remember about six times that Parliament has been "*competent*" to *add* to it. What! is it so perfectly competent to *add*, and not competent to *diminish*? What are we to be told next? If *we* were to assert, or "*almost*" assert, this of the Parliament, should we not be in danger of *banishment*? For, was ever any thing so well calculated for bringing that body into thorough contempt?—We cannot dismiss this article without noticing the following curious incident, as stated in the report of a Morning paper;—"*Some noise prevailed in the House during part of the time that Mr. Wynne was speaking. A stranger in the Gallery, whose indignation was excited by it, was induced to express his feelings in a manner which was as novel to the place as it was unsuited to its dignity. Above the voice of the orator, and the murmurs of the House, the voice of the stranger was heard exclaiming 'Silence, d—m ye, silence.'* The effect was ludicrous in the extreme; nor did the stranger seem conscious of the impropriety of conduct he had exhibited, until the presence of one of the messengers to lead him out recalled him to a recollection of the audience he addressed. He was, however, suffered to stay in the seat he occupied."—What are we to witness before the thing is over! We, for ourselves, have often wished, that every man in England could see, only *see*, this body *once*: that, we are satisfied, would be enough!

MARCH 13, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—The Five per Cent. Bill, with no real opposition, was read a second time; but, there were some petitions presented on a most important subject, namely, *Irish Tithes*; and, those who are disposed to call strange and monstrous things "*Irish*," may, as the thing most of all worthy of the epithet, select, *Irish Tithes*; for, all things together, never did such an abuse exist in this whole world. The public prints are beginning again to amuse their readers with "*Catholic Emancipation*!" We have Mr. Plunkett on the stage again,

"corresponding with Mr. O'Gorman, *Secretary* to the Catholic Board!" And we have Mr. Plunkett telling us, that he does *not* think that this is the "*proper time*," though he adds, that "he trusts" that it is unnecessary for him to "say, that *his friendship* to the "measure is unaltered and *unalterable*." Bless us! But, it must be a great comfort to the Catholics to know that though! To know that the measure (which has been talked of for twenty-five years) has, in its old age, the friendship of Mr. Plunkett, who has just got a place under the Ministry by whom the measure has constantly been rejected; and who, in fact, first came into place themselves with the cry of "*No popery* in their mouths!"—But, let us see a measure relative to *Irish Tithes*, and we may say that *something* is going to be done. This is emancipation, real emancipation, and that Catholic who looks to any thing short of it, is too weak a soul for any one to attempt to reason with.

IN THE COMMONS there was some *warm work* between the *standing army* in time of peace and Mr. Hume. However, we shall notice this more particularly, when we come to it in its due order. —Mr. Chetwynde moved for, and obtained, leave to bring in a Bill relative to *Vagrants*. It is to be lamented, that gentlemen do not see, that these regulations are only mere *props* to a vicious system; and that, to *get rid* of vagrants, and not to make laws for regulating their conduct, ought to be the thing constantly in view with those who mean well to the country. The Old Vagrant Act of England is still *law* in America;

but who ever saw it *put in force*? It is made a *dead letter* by the absence of taxation. If the *collection* of the taxes in America, the mere *collection*, cost, as it does here, a pound, or four dollars and a half, a-year for every grown up male person in the country, the Americans would soon find need of Vagrant Acts. Happily for that country, this is a state of things confined to England.

COLLECTION OF TAXES.—Colonel Davies brought forward, as our readers will see, certain Resolutions relative to this charge: the charge for mere collection, for the year up to January 1821, he states at 4,102,245*l*. That is to say, more than the *whole amount*, more than the gross produce, of the taxes in the reign of Queen Anne, previous to that famous measure of Septennial Parliaments; and more than the gross produce now of the taxes in America, which, with such means, is not only carrying on its government, but is *building a fleet* that will, we have but too good reason to suppose, be found by far the most formidable that England ever yet had to face. The Colonel showed, that, the expense of collection *increased*, rather than diminished; and his *Resolutions* tended to erect a control in the House, as to this matter. His Resolutions were set aside by the previous question; nor was this any thing to be wondered at; but, only think of an *increase* in this expense! And, mind, an increase in *nominal* amount; so that, taking *prices* into view as compared with money, here is nearly *three times* as much paid for collecting the taxes as was paid during high prices! And, can this thing go on!

The man that believes it, never really thinks on the subject, or is incapable of thinking. The sum itself is enormous; but, why are the tax-gatherers to be paid as highly as they were when prices were high? However, this question, like all others of this kind, must be left for the *landlords to decide*. Nor are we by any means sure, that it may not be for the good of the country, in the end, that the *rents* should, for a while, be consumed, in part, by the tax-gatherers.

MR. HUME AND THE STANDING ARMY.—We have said, that we do not think it wise to render the officers of the army a *corporation*, self-dependant; but, we give Mr. Hume great credit for his endeavours to curtail the influence of that army; and we have now to notice an instance of the consequences, to him, of such endeavours.—In Committee, last night, on the *Mutiny Bill*, he said (as will be seen by our report) that, the absolute power, which the Ministers possessed of dismissing officers at their pleasure, made those officers “completely dependant, or, if he might use the expression, *slaves* to His Majesty.”—This was resented, first by a person whose name is Nightingale, who is, we believe, a *General*, and who asserted that he was no *slave*. Next came a *Colonel* of the name of Trench, who said, he “flung back the insinuations to “the *foul source* from whence “they sprung;” and said, that he was *surprised*, Mr. Hume should “*dare*” to throw out “such an aspersion” against a body of men, who surely were not unfit “to sit in that House, *because* they had devoted years of their lives

“to the service of their country!”

—Oh no! not *because* of that (if it be so); but *because* the Ministers can, at their pleasure, dismiss them, strip them of their pay pull off their epaulettes, and take from them the names of General and Colonel, and others equally pretty, Colonel Trench! That was Mr. Hume's *because*. God forbid that we should call even our footmen *slaves*; but, then, all that we can do to our footmen, is, to strip *our* coats off their backs; to turn them out of *our* pay: we cannot prevent them from wearing other people's coats, and perhaps, even prettier coats; and getting other people's pay, and, very likely, higher pay. We cannot take from them the means of serving others; we cannot *degrade* them; we cannot even speak ill of them to other employers unless we have cause to show for it; and, therefore, they are our servants, our *living-servants* to be sure; but, not our *slaves*.—Sir Francis Burdett followed this Colonel Trench, and, to begin with, he insisted, that Mr. Hume's *language was perfectly proper*. He then went on, in a most excellent manner, as our readers will see, and, amongst other things, observed, that Blackstone treated the army as a *knot of slaves* existing in the nation. We wish we had now time to enlarge upon what he said about the “*infant mamelukes*,” of whom we ourselves have so often spoken, as showing so clearly the nature, and more particularly the *design*, of the present military thing all taken together, and which thing and *rents* cannot go on together. But, to proceed with Mr. Hume and the “*Military*” (leaving the

infants for another time) Mr. Bennet called on Colonel Trench for an explanation of his words. The Colonel apologized to the House, but did not think himself called upon to go further. It appears, that, after this, the Colonel went away. It seems strange to us, that Mr. Bennet did not stop here. But, he afterwards, called up the subject again in the House, and proposed to the House to interfere, and the Speaker decided that the apology of Colonel Trench was satisfactory. But, now happened that which, to us, seems the strangest thing of all; for, it seems, that Mr. Hume said, that he did not understand any personal reflections to have been cast on him; and that he was sorry Mr. Bennet had introduced the subject; for, that, if he had thought the expressions to contain any thing personal to him, he would have risen at the moment and demanded an explanation!—We are sorry to see all this. We think this is not the way for Mr. Hume to proceed, if he mean not, to bring his useful labours to a speedy close. He forgets, perhaps, that M. Mirabeau had 426 challenges sent him in four days, by different persons belonging to the *Old Regime*! He forgets the answer to those challenges: "I will take each in his turn; but, all must stop, till we have demolished the *Gabelles*;" that is to say, the cruellest of the taxes. The answer of Roederer to the *Marquis* who challenged him was equally good. Mr. Hume should read these; and that would save him a great deal of trouble. If he admit the competence of the "court of honour" to decide questions between the government and

the people; if he consent to submit his and our cause to the jurisdiction of that court; if he allow that he, on account of his efforts for us, can be called upon to plead in that court, he will be as unable to do us any service, as a lawyer would his client, if the lawyer allowed (as he never does) himself to be answerable in "the court of honour." Lawyers know better than this. Mr. Adolphus called Lord Ranelagh *swe* names in Court; his Lordship challenged him; and Mr. Adolphus clapped, not a sword or pistol to his breast, but an indictment on his back.—Mr. Hume must say what he thinks just and proper; and, as to what is said to him, he must, if he think fit, answer it in words, and leave the people to be the judges. This is the way; for any other way, must, in a case like his, lead to endless embarrassment. The people will never think him a coward, because he does not choose to make his body a target!—His offence against the military officers, is, in fact, that he wants to make them independent; that he wants to give them security against being stripped both of rank and bread, at the pleasure of the Ministers! Strange thing to give offence to the parties sought to be made free!—Oh, no! Never resent what is said by men having this taste; and, above all things, never suppose your honour implicated, because you answer such men only by words. Words, smart words, taunts, sarcasms, ridicule, contempt; as long as you please, in case of foul language; but nothing further does the nation require.

MARCH 14, 1832.

Two subjects, both very interesting, engaged the House of Commons last night; namely, the cruelties of Ilchester Gaol, and the cutting off of one of the Post-masters-General.

As to the first, Mr. Buxton said, that he had no hesitation in saying, that Mr. Hunt ought not to pass the remainder of his time in that prison; but, this Mr. Buxton (of whom we know nothing) took care to say, that he did not say what he said because he *approved* of the principles of Mr. Hunt; about which Mr. Hunt cares, doubtless, as much as he cares whether it be a *he-spider* or a *she-spider*, that works the webs in his dungeon.—Sir Thomas Lethbridge and Mr. Dickenson spoke, the former very fairly, and the latter in a softened tone, but still attempting to *defend the Magistrates*, whom, however, Mr. Hunt accuses.—Mr. Peel said little to the purpose; but endeavoured to *defend the Magistrates*, and repeated the old worn-out, exploded and ridiculous reason for giving them support; namely, that they *rendered their services gratuitously*! This notion has been long laughed at by every man of common sense; by all but mere gulls. It would be strange indeed to see men so eager to get into their hands the power of *doing good for nothing*; without any sort of remuneration; to see *parsons*, quitting their flocks, leaving those “cures of souls,” which they have so solemnly vowed to God to attend to with all diligence, “in season and out of season,” in order to wield the sword of justice; and,

all this for *nothing*; for no gain at all, direct or indirect! *Parson Hay*, for instance, of Manchester, and of 16th of August-memory, rendered his services *gratis*; oh! quite gratuitously; and must, therefore, according to Mr. Peel, be supported! The great living of Rochedale, which Parson Hay got just after the Manchester affair was, doubtless, not given him for services rendered at Manchester, *because* it was given him by the *Archbishop of Canterbury*; but, still, it is clear that his being a Justice of the Peace had done him *no harm*. This was the man who first found out, that men might be *held to bail* by Justices, in cases of libel, *before trial*! In short, Mr. Peel's is an old story, which does not now pass without exciting that which we will not, and which we need not, attempt to describe.—It is perfectly notorious, that the far greater part of the *Justicing* is now done by *parsons*. It is also notorious that a very considerable portion of these parsons receive the income of more than one living each; it is further notorious, that they promise and vow to God in the most solemn manner, at their ordination, that they will constantly watch over the flock that may be committed to their charge; and, in short, that they will devote their lives and all their capacities to the purposes of religion. Yet, notwithstanding all this, we find them, as was before observed, every where upon the benches, at Quarter Sessions as well as Petty Sessions, and meddling, with more activity than any of the gentlemen of the country, with the business of Justices of the Peace. Will any body be-

lieve, that they are requested by the Government to do this? If they be, this must be a strange sort of Government!—It is unnecessary to say more upon this subject at present, and we shall only add, that the public ought to bear in mind, that the Sheriff has, of his own authority, set aside the orders of the Magistrates with regard to Mr. Hunt; and that this has been done, in consequence of the Petitions presented to Parliament, from the people in the North, by Mr. Alderman Wood, Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Hume. The public will also bear in mind, that Mr. Dickenson, who formerly defended these Magistrates, and the gaoler, Bridle, has now given up the gaoler, but continues to declare his belief that the three visiting Magistrates were “as incapable of countenancing any premeditated act of inhumanity as any gentleman who now heard him.” This may be taken in two ways; and, at any rate, Mr. Dickenson’s meaning depends a good deal upon the opinion he may entertain of the humanity of the gentlemen who then heard him.—Mr. Buxton said, that he did not mean to say that Mr. Hunt’s sentence was originally *too severe*. Mr. Buxton’s opinion upon this point is very little interesting to us. The motion of which Sir Francis Burdett has given notice, and which we hope will be made in a tone suited to the subject, is admirably calculated to keep fresh in our minds an act which never ought to be forgotten; and, we never can speak upon this subject without recollecting that John Swann was, by the Justices of the Peace

for the County of Cheshire, sent to Chester Gaol for *four years and a half*, in pursuance of three sentences passed on him on one and the same day. Swann, a common labourer, when he heard the last sentence from the lips of these Justices, exclaimed, “Is that *all*? I thought you had a bit of rope in your pockets for me!” This man’s offences were, selling pamphlets, in two cases, and, in the other case, being present merely at a Reform Meeting!

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL.—Amongst the prodigious things that exist in this country, there is that of two persons, under the title of “*His Majesty’s Postmaster-General*,” in the singular number, each of them receiving two thousand five hundred pounds a-year, and for which receipt, it is not even pretended that any services at all are rendered. This double-jointed Postmaster-General is, or are, the Earl of Chichester, and the Marquess of Salisbury. It will be recollected that the first of these Noblemen lately told the distressed farmers at Lewes, that they had better stay at home and mind their own business, the reason for which it is very easy for the public to conjecture. Last night, a motion was made by Lord Normanby for cutting off one half of the expense of this double-jointed personage, the Postmaster-General. The reason for doing which is much too obvious for us to cite any of the arguments made use of in support of the motion. It was lost, at last, by twenty-five voices of a majority in favour of the Ministers, out of three hundred and forty-three Members present. Mr. Holmes Sumner, and

Mr. S. Wortley spoke against the motion; that is to say, for the retaining of the second Post-master, and thereby keeping the charge of two thousand five hundred a-year still in existence against the country. Mr. Denison spoke for the motion, and said that the two Lords, according to his information, really attended for scarcely any other purpose but for *receiving the salaries*.—But now for the arguments in opposition to the motion; or, rather, the argument, for there was but one; namely, that the office, amongst others of the same description, was necessary for the support of the influence of the Crown!—We beg the people to look well at this. For the support of the influence of the Crown; and let us ask the people, what is meant by influence of the Crown here; of what *nature* it is; *where* it is to be exercised; who are the persons that are to act in consequence of it?—When the people have answered those questions for themselves, then let them recollect, that there is three times as much money expended now upon the whole; and six times as much expended in offices, staff-pensions, and sinecures as there was expended in 1790.—When the people have so recollected, then we beg them to attend to the argument of Mr. F. Robinson in support of the propriety and wisdom and necessity of this increase of influence.—He said, that there existed now a great deal more *political information*, than formerly, throughout the country! that public opinion had acquired a *respectability* which it formerly did not possess; that the people now scrutinize, the

conduct of public men with *just severity*; that you could not now walk the public streets without meeting with men who knew all that public men said and did; that he *rejoiced* at this; that he thought it a great blessing; but * * * * * and now mark this, but * * * * * this increase of knowledge in the public, at which he rejoiced, observe, required a *corresponding increase in the influence of the Crown*!—So that, this “blessing:” this thing at which Mr. Robinson rejoiced; this is to be counteracted by the raising of millions of money upon the people, in order to counteract the effect of this “blessing!”—We will interrupt our observations here for a moment to advert for a moment to a late expression of Lord Castlereagh, namely, that Parliament was not to be influenced by what was said in assemblies called County Meetings, but by the *property and education* of the country.—Now, here we have one Minister telling us, that the country is inundated with knowledge, intelligence, political information in every branch, and that money must be raised to counteract their effects, and another Minister telling us, that the education of the country is not to be found at a County Meeting, while a third (a perfect Mammoth in the tax-eating way) calls a County Meeting a “farce,” though composed, as the one particularly alluded to was, of ten thousand land-owners and land-occupiers in one of the fairest counties of England. But, was there ever any thing so monstrous as the argument of Mr. Robinson? Is it not built upon the preposterous, nay, the savage notion that

men of sense, men who know their duties, and the duties of their rulers, are not to be governed according to the laws and the Constitution; that the prerogatives of the King, the just powers of the Parliament, the due administration of the laws, the moral principles of religion; that these are insufficient for the governing of men of understanding; and that, therefore, resort must be had to an influence, which the laws and Constitution hold in abhorrence; and the use of which it has been reserved for our day to be openly avowed to be necessary; but, the strangest thing of all is, that Mr. Robinson should call that a "blessing" which has rendered this most expensive influence so necessary! That he should call it a "blessing" and "rejoice" at it. There is but one interpretation to be given to this, namely, that Mr. Robinson rejoices at the increase of intelligence, because the increase of intelligence calls for, as he asserts, an increase of the description of that which is enjoyed by the Postmaster-General.—Mr. Holme Sumner went a little into a description of this influence. He said, that he was not one of those who thought that the influence of the Crown had become too great in Parliament. It was not, he said, whether this office required one or two Lords, but whether the influence of the Crown was too great; and he thought it "*not great enough*," and, therefore, he should vote against the motion. Mr. Freemantle (lately come into office), considered the influence of the Crown to have been diminished; and "*thought the proposed reduc-*

tion to be highly dangerous."

Mr. Stewart Wortley called it an attempt to pull down the influence of the Crown; and said, that it would be making an approach towards a Republican form of Government; and, therefore, he should "*fearlessly and honestly*" give his vote against the motion. If Mr. Wortley really do wish to keep the desire of having a Republican form of Government out of the minds of the people, we would advise him not to tell them that there is no other way of obtaining a reduction of enormous expenditure. He has here, unwisely we think, held out a very tempting bait to the people to embrace Republicanism. We, for our parts, who recollect that the whole of the taxes in the reign of Queen Ann, when England was able to beat down Louis the Fourteenth, did not amount to so much as the bare collection of our taxes now amounts to; we who recollect that, in the year of extended warfare of 1783, the whole of the taxes did not amount to but little more than a fourth of what they now amount to in a season of profound peace; we, who recollect that a navy of a hundred thousand seamen and marines then cost only one million more (and in time of war too) than a navy of twenty thousand seamen and marines now cost in time of peace; we, who recollect, that a navy of twenty thousand seamen and marines cost two millions in 1790, and that a navy of twenty thousand seamen and marines now costs six millions; we, who recollect all these things, would fain hope, that a Kingly Government can be carried on without this tre-

mendously expensive influence; but, if Mr. Stuart Wortley will have it otherwise; if he will insist that these enormous expenses are indispensable in order to have a Kingly Government, let him take to himself all the merit that is due for having set in motion a train of ideas, the result of which it is so very easy to guess at, that we think it wholly unnecessary to give it a description. Our readers will begin to think that the lucid and gentle Statesman, that man-of powerful persuasion, Lord Castlereagh, was *silent* upon this occasion! Not so, indeed. Pity would it have been if that convincing tongue had not been in motion when such a prize was at stake. Seeing the fate of Mr. Robinson's curious doctrine, he did not contend, that useless offices must be continued merely for the support of the influence of the Crown. He "denied as strongly as any Member, that influence ought to be used for the purposes of *corruption*, or to induce a Member to swerve from his duty!" Oh, bless us, no! we have never heard of any Mr. Maddocks's motion. This burdened, distressed, harassed, distracted, and insulted nation have never heard of such persons as Mr. Percival and Mr. Quintin Dick! But, to proceed. This great political philosopher, this great patron of purity, was disposed to look at "the machine in a larger view, as it was in the *"Constitution!"* Descending a little (in charity, we suppose, to our uneducated minds); narrowing a little this larger view of the matter, he graciously condescended to tell us, that there was always, in the House of Com-

mons, "a strong corps of attack upon the Administration of the country, and, if there were not a mass of official personages to defend it, the citadel of Government would soon be destroyed; and, therefore, he contended, that the office on which they were debating was absolutely necessary to the machine of Government."—Now, whether this be a true description or not, of this machine, of this citadel, or of whatever else this philosopher may call it, we pretend not to say; but we venture to say; we venture to offer it as our decided opinion, that, if this be a just description of it, the sooner the machine undergoes some sort of change the better it will be for the country; and when we say country, we, of course include His Majesty and his family, whose real interests must be inseparable from his people.—What a droll idea, that there should be a thing called Government to be compared to a citadel, constantly in a state of siege! This idea would be natural enough if we supposed an open rebellion always to be in existence. But Government is a thing for the whole people to love and cherish; and what a monstrous notion it is, then, in this philosopher, to look upon it as a thing to be constantly attacked by the representatives of the people; and, which is still more monstrous, that a part of those representatives should be paid in order to defend this citadel against the attacks of the other part! This profound philosopher began his career as a Parliamentary Reformer; but never did he, in his whole life time, put forth an argument in favour of Reform so

cogent as this. The discussion of this question will do a great deal of good, and we are sure the people will participate with us in thanks to Lord Normanby for having produced it. It is not the £,500*l.* a-year; but it is the principle upon which the thing has been attempted to be defended.—We conclude with remarking, that Mr. Canning was *silent* upon an occasion so peculiarly suited to the exercise of his talents; but we suspect, that the Gentleman, who is not deficient in point of sagacity, begins to smell that there is a change approaching.

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MARCH 15, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, Lord King gave notice of a motion on the subject of the *Expenses of the Civil List*. Nothing else took place worthy of particular notice.

IN THE COMMONS, several matters of great public interest were brought forward; 1. Corn-dealers' Petition; 2. Treatment of Mr. Hunt; 3. Irish Tithes; 4. Postmaster-General; 5. Public Accounts; and 6. India Board.

1. Mr. Sykes presented a Petition from Corn-dealers at Hull, who complained as follows:—The Corn Bill of 1815 allowed them to sell foreign Corn in our markets; whenever English corn should be higher than 10*s.* the bushel. They imported large quantities of corn, previous to the Spring of 1819 when Peel's Bill was passed. That Bill, they state, *raised the value of money*; that is to say, it made the English bushel of wheat lower priced than it would have been if the Bill had not been passed. They therefore prayed to be permitted

to sell their corn which had been imported under the Act of 1814; and upon the natural presumption that the value of money was not to be changed by Act of Parliament. Nothing can be more just than the prayer of this petition; and yet to do this act of justice to these parties would be to bring down English wheat at once to about 3*s.* the bushel!—All persons borrowing money; all persons having stock in trade; all the active capital and industry of the country; the whole have suffered in the same way and from the same cause. The prayer of the petition, therefore, cannot be granted without doing justice to all other sufferers from the same cause. But, that which is worthy of our attention here is, that Mr. Ricardo supported this petition; and said that the importers had experienced great injury in consequence of the rise in the value of money occasioned by Peel's Bill! Come, come, Mr. Ricardo! you know, Sir, that an Oracle told us; or, rather, told the "Collective Wisdom" (and the "Collective Wisdom" believed the Oracle) that Peel's Bill would raise the value of money, as compared with the price of produce, *only four and a half per cent.* Therefore, these merchants (if that Oracle spoke truth) cannot have suffered very much from Mr. Peel's Bill; and, if the Oracle did not speak truth, it were well if you would remonstrate with the Oracle!

2. The treatment of Mr. Hunt was again brought forward by Mr. Alderman Wood, on presenting a Petition from 8,000 persons in the town and neighbourhood of Leeds, amongst which petition-

ers was the High Sheriff of the neighbouring county. The public will recollect that the evidence about Ilchester Gaol has been a long time talked of, and a long time laid upon the table of the House of Commons; but that it has never yet been printed. Strange thing, this. Mr. Alderman Wood, therefore, pressed the getting of a part, at any rate, into the hands of Members. To this, objection was made by Mr. Wynne and by the Speaker, who stated the inconvenience of delivering the evidence *piece-meal*. And why piece-meal? We will venture to say that there are plenty of printers in London who would print the whole of this evidence in twice eight and forty hours. Very strange that this particular document cannot be got printed. If the Speaker will condescend to put it into our hands, we will have it out in three days, and charge not a farthing for the printing; instead of the, perhaps, five or six hundred, or a thousand pounds, which may, (and very fairly, perhaps) be charged by Mr. Luke Hansard. — Several Members took occasion to express their opinions that Mr. Hunt had been unjustly treated; and this was particularly done by Mr. Stewart Wortley. Mr. Sykes took occasion to observe, that he was sure "that even Mr. Justice Best, when he signed those rules, never intended that they should apply but to felons." Whereupon, Mr. Serjeant Onslow defended the character of Mr. Justice Best, and defied any one to produce "*one instance of inhumanity or cruelty in the whole life of that Learned Judge.*" Mr. Sykes explained, and said,

"that he had made no insinuation against the Learned Judge; that he respected the characters of all the Judges; that he had a friendship for some of them, and had a *veneration for all.*" We suppose that this veneration is founded on Mr. Sykes's personal acquaintance with the venerable persons in question. But we must protest against holding Judges in veneration merely because they *are Judges*; for that would lead us to venerate the memory of those monsters of iniquity, Jefferies and Scroggs, and of that Judge, who, in the reign of William the Third, hanged a Printer in London for having a libel in his house. We protest against all such sweeping veneration as this; and, if the conduct of Judges be not freely canvassed in Parliament, we must look upon, as a mere *farce*, that law which says, that Judges may be dismissed from their office in consequence of addresses to the King from the Houses of Parliament. Still, however, we think the charge ought to be direct, and that the only fair way of attacking a corrupt, partial, cruel or insolent Judge, is, by motion for an Address to the King to dismiss him; and not by paltry indirect means.

3. *Irish Tithes* were mentioned by Mr. Rice, upon presenting a Petition from Twelve Parishes in Ireland upon that subject. It seems, however, that this petition came from Lay and Clerical Proprietors of Tithes! We have little opinion of any measure that could be agreeable to Clerical proprietors; for our idea is a very considerable reduction from their present receipts; a measure,

which, we are afraid, the Clerical Gentlemen would not much relish. However, as this subject advances, we shall be able to discover the views of the parties concerned.

4. *Post-Master General.*—Mr. Calcraft moved “for an account of the number of days that Lord Clancarty had attended at the Post-office to discharge the duties of Post-master General, together with the dates of his appointment and resignation.”—This motion was lost without a division; and is worthy of particular notice, only on account of what our great Statesman and political philosopher, Lord Castlereagh, said upon the subject. The noble philosopher said that the attendance of this officer at the Post-office was not necessary to the discharge of his duty there; that, though he might not attend at the Post-office, he might perform the duties there; that there were other offices performed without personal attendance; such as the Master-General of the Ordnance; the Chief Secretary of Ireland, and so forth. Now we must say, that, for this once, we agree with this great philosopher; for, in the first place, we will lay it down as a position not to be disputed, that the souls of parishioners are much more precious than any concerns at Post-offices, or at the Ordnance, or at Boards of Control. We take another position for granted, that the parsons of the established church have the greatest possible regard for precious souls; thirdly, we must suppose that they are the best judges of the way of preserving those souls. Having settled these points, we have only

to add, that it is a notorious fact, that a great number of these parsons perform the duties of their offices without the possibility of being resident with their flocks, seeing that many of them have two or three flocks apiece; and seeing that not a few of them are actually out of the kingdom. For these reasons we think that Mr. Calcraft must be wrong, and that the officers of the Post-office, the Ordnance, the Board of Control, and of many other departments, nay, perhaps, of all other departments, can be very well performed without personal attendance. The most material thing we think, is, the receiving of the income; and as this is done by tithe-proctors, in the one case, it can very well be done by a banker's clerk in the other case. And this is all we have to say upon this matter.

5. *PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.*—Mr. Ma-berly brought forward a very curious exhibition of the great difference between the public accounts as stated in different documents; and he moved for a select Committee to simplify the public accounts. After a very lame explanation, or attempt at explanation, the motion was set aside by another from the Treasury gentlemen, to appoint a Committee to inquire into the *causes of the disagreement* shown by Mr. Ma-berly! This was a curious turn to give to the thing. As to *simplifying* these accounts, we defy any human being to do it.—They annually occupy as much printed paper as would fill a cart; and to simplify them is utterly impossible.

6. *INDIA BOARD.*—Mr. Creevey, after a most able exposure of the waste of public money on this

bench of officers, concluded with a motion for a Select Committee "to inquire what the duties of the Commissioners of the Board of Control were, and by whom they were performed." The thing being a very notorious affair, we shall only notice a little of what was said in *defence* of it. Mr. Buxton mentioned an instance of utility in the Board, which he had witnessed in a despatch which the Board had prepared relative to the *burning of Hindoo Widows*. To be sure, this was an important matter; or, it would have been, at least, if there had been any good grounds for believing, that the widows in England were likely to follow the example of the disconsolate ladies in India; but, with all due submission to Mr. Buxton, we think that that *humanity* for which he has such surprising reputation, would be much more likely to be promoted by the lopping off of enormous expenditure in England, and thereby affording some relief to a ruined and starving people, than by any thing that he will be able to do by putting a stop to this singular instance of constancy in the wives of the Hindoos. Besides, does Mr. Buxton recollect that some of our greatest political philosophers are now engaged in a project for *checking the population* in England; and we would ask him what could be a more effectual check than that which the Hindoos are pursuing? We by no means (God forbid) would recommend this mode of checking population in England; but, if it be to be checked, we really do think this the most rational, and even the most humane way of effecting the object. The

treat, however, is to come, for last night Mr. Canning was on the boards! We were happy to see this gentleman on his legs; but were sorry to hear Mr. Creevey observe "that he had heard that that was to be the Right Hon. Gentleman's *benefit night*; and "was to be his *last appearance*!" What, then, is this excellent personage to go to India after all? Will he leave the system in its agony? Will he cross the seas? Will he place himself amongst the antipodes, just at the very moment when the system stands in need of all that he is able to do, and even a great deal more. It can never be a *voluntary act*.—Surely England is the theatre of glory for a statesman. We shall never believe that he goes but from *one motive*; and the time will come when we shall state what that motive is. India, far distant as it is, is not a place whither the storm will not reach. It is this little island, and this little island alone, that gives power to those that are in India. India must follow the destiny of the system, which system now rocks and rolls and pitches and creaks in a manner that forebodes a speedy going to pieces.—But, as it is possible that this may be the last time that we are to hear the voice of this great actor, let us notice a little what he said. That he was against Mr. Creevey's motion, the public will naturally conclude; and now for his reasons. He said that the argument in favour of the motion was, that these offices took a great deal of money; that the officers rolled in affluence, while the people were destitute of the means of existence. Now, was not this a very good argu-

ment? What, we ask, could be a better argument? And what is Mr. Canning's answer to this argument? Why, his old accusation that there existed an intention *to overturn all property*. This, he said, was always the pretence; was always the argument, whenever property was meant to be overturned; this was precisely the way in which attacks were begun upon property; this was the mode in which the spirit of *confiscation* generally commenced; and he called upon the House to look well to the consequences of yielding to such a spirit!—So that, if we attempt to diminish the rate at which placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, and all the whole race of tax-eaters are now taking away the rent of the landlord, the capital of the farmer, the merchant and the tradesman, the wages of the labourer and the artisan; in whatever degree we attempt to diminish this rate of alienation, we are to be accused of a design to overturn all property and to begin a system of confiscation!—No further commentary is necessary on this from us at present. The commentary which time and events will make upon it, Mr. Canning will hear enough of, though he should be at twelve months' sail from England. To keep this commentary from him, the winds must cease to blow and the tides to roll.

MARCH 16, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Lord Darnley mentioned the treatment of Mr. Hunt; and observed that the country was much indebted to him for exposing the atrocities in

Ilchester Gaol. We are sorry to hear his Lordship, after making this just observation, add the following:—"He fully acquitted the members of his Majesty's Government of any concern, either directly or indirectly, in the oppressions and persecutions inflicted on the individual to whom he had alluded; but when they could not but know that persecution gave importance to every individual who was made its victim, they should have taken care that such importance was not given to the person in question. It was evident that the more notorious any person rendered himself, by conduct in any degree improper, in opposition to the Government, the more popular he would become by persecution." We repeat an expression of our sorrow that his Lordship should have thought it necessary in this case to say any thing about the part which the Government had had in these persecutions; and we regret still more that he should have said any thing about the importance which Mr. Hunt was likely to derive from the persecutions; for the following part of his Lordship's speech is too plain to be misunderstood:—"That the Ministers should have taken care that such importance was not given to the person in question;" which would almost tempt some persons to believe, that his Lordship disliked the importance almost as much as he disliked the persecution of Mr. Hunt; and, therefore, his Lordship deprives himself, according to our way of thinking, of a considerable portion of the merit, which we should otherwise have

ascribed to his Lordship's speech upon this subject. Something of the same sort of regretting the importance that it gave to the persecuted party, has now and then dropt from Members of the Honourable House; and we think (humbly think, of course,) that it would be full as wise to say little or nothing more about this importance.—We dismiss this subject for the present with observing, that Mr. Hobhouse (in the absence of Sir Francis Burdett,) postponed the motion relative to Mr. Hunt's sentence, until Wednesday the 27th of March; hoping, that, in the interim, circumstances might occur that would render the motion unnecessary. We hope so, too; or, more properly speaking, we *wish* it; but, at any rate, we know that the termination of Mr. Hunt's being under the orders and regulations, signed by Mr. Judge Best, will terminate in about seven months' time. That is the best ground of hope!

LIGHT-HOUSES.—Mr. Hume called for an account of the number of Light-Houses let to individuals; and we should wish to have the names of the individuals; for these Light-Houses are very pretty things: and add very greatly to the taxes that we have to pay. —It would be curious to ascertain how much every pound of tobacco, pepper, tar, turpentine, and a hundred other articles of domestic use; how much every gallon of garden seeds; how much every pound of hemp; how much these things pay, not for the maintaining of Light-Houses; but for the profits of Light-Houses; and then to ascertain into whose pockets those profits go. We have heard of some

"very independent men" who are renters of Light-Houses.

MALT-TAX.—In a Committee on the Malt Tax Bill some pointed remarks from Sir Joseph Yorke called forth the following remarks from Mr. Calvert the brewer. "A halfpenny a pot on porter was nearly equal to 21s. a quarter on malt. Now the repeal of the malt duty was only 6s. 6d. a quarter. After informing his Honourable Friend that out of every 5d. charged for a pot of porter the Government got 1d., the victualler nearly 1d., and the brewer 2d., he would leave him to decide how the brewer could afford to make a reduction of 25 per cent. in the price of his beer, when he himself received only a reduction of 6s. 6d." Let the public attend to this. Here is a brewer telling us that a halfpenny a pot upon porter is equal to twenty-one shillings a quarter on the malt used by the porter brewer! What can this mean? If it mean any thing, it mean this, that there are as many pots of porter brewed out of a quarter of malt as there are halfpence in twenty-one shillings. Now, then, let us see how this matter stands. There are five hundred and four halfpence in 21s. So that, according to this brewer's statement, there is made out of every quarter of malt, five hundred and four quarts of porter; or a hundred and twenty-one gallons; this would be pretty well for the brewer, to use only about *fifty-two shillings' worth of Malt* in the making eighty-four shillings' worth of beer, at the *twopence a pot* at which Mr. Calvert says they sell it. Allow half 7s. 6d. for hops; and allow them to use hops;

deduct the two pounds nineteen and sixpence of cost, and you leave the brewer, for the trouble of brewing and carrying out, twenty-one shillings and fourpence upon every hundred and twenty-one gallons of porter. This would be enormous upon their own showing; but, far indeed are they from putting a quarter of malt into a hundred and twenty-one gallons of porter! Far indeed are they from employing seven and sixpence worth of hops in this concern. We have a book giving directions for porter brewing; and we find instructions for using four bushels of malt in the brewing of a *hundred* and four gallons of porter; we find in the same book instructions for putting in some *burnt sugar*; some *treacle*; some *cayenne pepper*; and divers other drugs; and a very small portion of hops. Now we do not pretend to say that Mr. Calvert makes his beer in this way, but we positively assert that we can make beer as strong as his common porter, with four bushels of malt to the hundred and four gallons. This affair of public brewing is a crying evil; and it never can be put an end to until the *present mode of licensing public-houses be put an end to*. This gives the brewers a complete *monopoly*; and as long as the legislature shall continue to uphold this mode of licensing, it surely ought to take care that the people have something like the worth of their money for the beer that they drink. We think Sir Joseph Yorke entitled to the best thanks of the public for eliciting this matter relative to the breweries; and we here beg him to accept of our thanks at any rate. There is, we

understand, to be a Meeting of the City of Westminster, shortly, to petition the Parliament on this subject. Petitions ought to come from all quarters; for really the oppression of the brewers is intolerable.

There are several other topics; with regard to which we must defer our remarks until Monday; though we would even now direct the attention of our readers to Mr. Arbuthnot's *letter of denunciation*.

MARCH, 18, 1822.

IRISH TITHES.—We had not room on Saturday to notice, that this subject was brought forward by the Duke of Devonshire on Friday evening, on presenting a Petition from the Corporation of Waterford, who are, it seems, themselves great Tithe-owners. His Grace said, that he himself was the owner of the tithes of more than twenty parishes in Ireland! We might stop here to remark on the assertion which the parsons are continually putting forth, namely, that the tithes were dedicated *to God*; that is to say, for the support of the Ministers of his word; and we would ask them how this accords with the fact of the Duke of Devonshire's possessing the tithes of more than twenty parishes? Leaving the Reverend Gentlemen to answer this question; and passing over the very cautious, not to say equivocal manner in which Lord Liverpool spoke on the subject, we will merely add upon this subject at present, that the Marquis of Lansdowne observed, that, "in Ireland the Clergyman had frequently no Clerical duties to

"perform, and was already regarded in many places, *rather as a Magistrate* than as a religious instructor."—His Lordship mentioned this by way of contrast with the parsons in England. But is it not the same here in many cases? Are not the parsons *Magistrates* in England too? Are there not many of them that are known in no other character by the people with whom they come in contact? Who have been the most vigorous Justices of the Peace as to the Reformers? Who have been most distinguished at Manchester and other places? Of whom do we most frequently hear as the visiting Magistrates of those horrible places where the unfortunate Reformers have been imprisoned. Leaving these questions to Lord Lansdowne, we would proceed to show that it will be impossible to touch the tithes of Ireland without going to the bottom of the subject, and without extending the measure to every part of the kingdom. Lord Lansdowne was willing to admit, that the people of France had obtained advantages (for that was the country he must have alluded to) by the changes there made with regard to tithes; but then, said his Lordship, "those changes were of so *revolutionary* a nature; and had been attended by such a character of *spoliation*, that he should be *sorry to see* any disposition to imitate them in this country."—We would remind his Lordship that the spoliation which succeeded the abolition of tithes in France, was occasioned, not by the abolition of tithes, but by the abolition having been *too long delayed*, and by violent attempts on the part of the

hypocritical French Court and their allies to compel the people of France to reinstate the Priesthood in the possession of the tithes.—His Lordship acknowledged that tithes were unsuited to the present state of society; and well he might, for, poll all the people of this kingdom, except those interested in the tithes, and be they of what politics they may, there will not be found one man in one million of men to say that tithes ought not to be abolished by law.—There is a distinction between lay tithes and clerical tithes. The former are private property to all intents and purposes; but the latter are public property; and, as more than fifty Acts of Parliament will show, can be dealt with at the pleasure of the Parliament. Indeed this doctrine is essential to the title which the Duke of Devonshire has to the tithes of more than twenty parishes in Ireland; for if the Parliament cannot dispose of clerical tithes at its pleasure, his Grace has no property in the tithes of those more than twenty parishes, seeing that that property rests solely upon Acts of Parliament.

MR. ARBUTHNOT'S LETTER.—Lord John Russell brought forward on Friday in the House of Commons, a letter which he had obtained, signed Charles Arbuthnot, who is a Secretary of the Treasury. His Lordship stated the letter to have been addressed to a Member or Members of Parliament, calling upon the persons to whom it was addressed, "to resist the dangerous practices of Lords Althorpe and Normanby, and Mr. Creevey;" and containing a passage in these words: "The opposition, in despair of

“ being able to get into power
 “ themselves, are endeavouring
 “ to undermine and destroy the
 “ institutions of the country, and
 “ make it impossible for any set
 “ of men to carry on the business
 “ of the country.” We think it very
 natural that Mr. Arbuthnot should
 write such a letter. Every man
 must know that precisely such
 must have been the representa-
 tions made by the Ministers and
 their underlings to every one soft
 enough, poppy enough, pommice
 enough, muddy enough, besotted
 and beastly enough to listen to
 them ever since the Parliament
 has been assembled. A man of
 sound sense, indeed, would ask
 them, how long it is since Field
 Marshals, Military Academies,
 Barracks, paying three for one for
 loans, Bank Restrictions, Peel's
 Bills, Acts to quash informations
 against non-resident parsons; a
 man of sound sense would ask
 them how long it is since the salt-
 tax, which is, in fact, a poll tax;
 the leather tax; the tax on lega-
 cies; the enormous tax on law
 suits; a man of sound sense would
 ask them, how long these have
 been, *institutions of the country?*
 —But, a man of sound sense will
 say, that it is very natural for
 those whose heads are filled with
 pommice to regard these as insti-
 tutions of the country; and he will
 only laugh at Mr. Arbuthnot's
 letter. So much are we of this
 mind, that we really should not
 have noticed the occurrence, had
 it not been for the purpose of in-
 troducing as worthy of the parti-
 cular attention of our readers, the
 speech made upon this occasion
 by our Great Statesman and poli-
 tical Philosopher, titles which our
 readers well know can belong to

no one but the great Castlereagh,
 who said that he “ had hoped that
 “ the freedom of debate, both in
 “ and out of *Parliament*, was suf-
 “ ficiently understood to allow a
 “ *latitude of discussion upon pub-
 “ lic topics*. The gentlemen oppo-
 “ site might have only one opinion
 “ of the innocent tendency of
 “ their measures, and yet others
 “ might think quite the reverse
 “ of their effect. It was too
 “ much to say that one set of
 “ gentlemen should, in the dis-
 “ charge of what they deemed to
 “ be their duty in *Parliament*,
 “ adopt a particular course, and
 “ yet complain that others who
 “ differed from them should de-
 “ *live* their opinion upon that in
 “ the way which it struck them.
 “ Still more extraordinary was it,
 “ that such a proceeding should
 “ be brought forward as a breach
 “ of privilege. He *trusted that*
 “ *they lived in a land of freedom*,
 “ and were not to be gagged by
 “ the *denunciations of gentlemen*
 “ *opposite*, who threatened to
 “ visit with a breach of privilege,
 “ any man who ventured to ex-
 “ press an opinion upon the ten-
 “ dency of their measures.” —
 Well! let us take time to breathe;
 for we had almost lost our breath
 before we got to the end of this!
 Happy change, indeed! Talk of
revolutions! Here is a revolution!
 Lord Castlereagh contending for
 freedom of debate out of *Parlia-*
ment as well as in *Parliament*;
 for unless our memory be extreme-
 ly treacherous, it is only two years
 ago since his Lordship himself
 brought in a Bill, which now
 makes one of the never-to-be-for-
 gotten Six-Acts, for the express
 purpose of preventing the freedom
 of debate, either under cover or in

the open air! But to hear the great Castlereagh, the advocate for *freedom of opinion*; to hear him say that he hoped that he lived in a *land of freedom where men were not to be GAGGED*; to hear this from Lord Castlereagh, after he had brought in a Bill, which, at first, proposed to *transport* men, and which finally provided for *banishing* them, if they uttered a word having a *tendency* to bring either House of Parliament into *contempt*; to hear this from him, would, if we were not sure of what the end would be, certainly call from us expressions which, for the present, it is much better that we keep from the paper. We dismiss the subject, therefore, well knowing that our readers will draw the proper inference.

The Army Estimates formed the remaining subjects of discussion on Friday. Mr. Hume made some endeavours in vain to effect certain trifling reductions. There was nothing worthy of remark during the debate, except the particular pains which Mr. Bennet and Mr. Hutchinson took to convince the House that they disapproved of every thing tending to *cast a slur upon the gentlemen of the army*. This is not the way to support Mr. Hume, who has never, as far as we have perceived, cast any personal slur upon any of them; but if to complain of the "*wasteful extravagance of the guards*," be to justify what is called speaking warmly; and if Mr. Hume be to be made *personally amenable*, in such a case, or to *disclaim* in any way whatever; all that we can say is, it would be better for him to tie up his papers or fling them into the

fire. Why, does he think that he cannot obtain reductions of men's salaries and allowances without exciting *warmth* in those men? Let him be aware how he touches *tithes*, then! Does he remember what it is to "*betake him to the temporalities*," as Harry the Eighth called it, of the clergy? Does he not know that there are such things as *excommunications* and *anathemas*? In short, Mr. Hume must be prepared for long suffering; he must place his reliance upon the people only; or he would do well to give up his pursuit.

MARCH 19, 1822.

Two matters, each of great importance, were before the House of Commons last night! *First, the price of porter*; and, Second, the efforts of Mr. Hume in the Committee of Supply.

The *price of porter*, our readers will recollect, was brought under the notice of the House by Sir Joseph Yorke, on Friday night last, for which it will also be recollected, that we offered the gallant slap-dash Knight our unfeigned thanks. Mr. Calvert was brought out on that occasion; and he gave *his reasons* why the reduction of the Malt Tax should produce *no reduction in the price of beer*! We exposed those reasons pretty completely on Saturday; we showed clearly the enormous gains of the brewers, derived from their monopoly of public-houses; and we concluded by earnestly calling upon the people, in all parts of the country, to petition for an alteration of that monstrous system of licensing public-houses which has

caused this monopoly; and which really has enabled the public brewers to be a set of oppressors upon a level with the Aumils and Zemindars in the East Indies; while not a few of them put forward preterensions to patriotism and love of liberty, and while the really worthy people of Middlesex think they have gained a great triumph in electing one of them in place of a Bank Director!—We beg our readers to look at Mr. Huskisson's speech of last night; and when they have read that speech with attention, if they do not give us credit for having *produced the speech*, they will at least give us credit for having been the first to seize by the throat this monster of monopoly. Mr. Huskisson observed that he did not think the people would *submit* to such a proceeding as that of keeping up the price of porter after the reduction of the malt tax. But, what are the people to do, how can they help submitting? It was much more sensibly observed that the House was *bound to interpose*, and we, for our parts, have little doubt, that this speech of Mr. Huskisson will lower the porter a halfpenny in the pot.—Mr. Buxton, whom we find to be a *brewer*, and about whom we were long making inquiries in vain to know who he was; this great professor of the new science of *prison-discipline*, observed that nothing could be more monstrous than that the sum about to be taken off the malt should go into the pockets of the brewers; *but* (for he had a *but*) “it should be considered, that the brewers had now on hand a large stock of

“beer made from malt which
 “had paid the full duty; and,
 “therefore, a reasonable time
 “should be given to dispose of
 “it.” Mr. Buxton must know, that the gains of the brewers for the last three years have been enormous; he must know that they have already received a hundred times as much of *over-gains* as they can possibly lose by any stock in hand which they may have, and if he does not know it, we do, that the halfpenny a pot, ought to have been taken off long enough ago. But, the most important part of Mr. Huskisson's speech was, however, that which related to licensing public-houses. He said that there certainly was a *combination* amongst the public brewers in this respect; and he added, “that every effort ought to be made by the *Magistrates* to encourage free public-houses, even at the expense of refusing licenses to those in the hands of the brewers.” The object in view is very right, Mr. Huskisson; but if you think that it will be accomplished by leaving it to the *Magistrates*, you have only to look at the conduct of the three *Magistrates* that were the other day indicted and convicted in consequence of what they did as to refusing a license to that public spirited and most meritorious gentleman, Mr. Meeke. Recollect; also, that brewers are very frequently *Magistrates themselves*; *Bankers*, too, very frequently: powerful men, in short, against whom the mass of the people have, as things now stand, no chance of protection. If the Parliament have a mind to do any thing effectual, or rather the Ministry; for this is a matter

for the King's servants to propose, let them do something of the sort that is done in America; and particularly in the State of New York, where, though there are no *Excise* and no *tax on any license*; yet there is a license necessary to the keeping of a house of public entertainment, which is there called a tavern. For, it is deemed to be a neglect of duty in the Government, not to take care, as far as it can, that such houses should not be kept by persons likely to suffer them to be scenes of bad moral conduct. Therefore, the party wishing to keep a tavern, must have the previous approbation of a majority of *Land-occupiers in the Townships*. It is not left to the Justices of the Peace, in the Townships; nor to the Quarter Sessions. This would be to make it a matter liable to the influence of political or personal partiality; and, indeed, to the *influence of corruption*; for a license is a thing worth money.—To leave it to the voice of the township at large (including young fellows and people of all descriptions,) would not be right; because, this is a matter where the passions would have a great deal to do; and where, from the general taste of youth and thoughtlessness, the selection ought to be lodged in the hands of persons naturally steady from their habits and pursuits, and deeply interested in the morals and welfare of the Township. If the Ministry will propose something of this sort here, we are quite certain that they will excite great gratitude in the breasts of the people. We protest against any power, as to this matter, to be lodged in the

hands of the clergy, any more than in other land-holders or other occupiers; it is now the custom of Magistrates in the country, to require the recommendation of the *resident Minister*. Nothing can be more dangerous than this. The public brewer has only to get this Minister on his side; and then he is the Lord of the parish. We have known some instances of monstrous injustice and cruelty to spring from this source. Nothing can be more easy than to adopt an effectual measure for preventing partiality and corruption in the licensing of public houses. It is a thing loudly called for; and we shall be amongst the first to offer to the Ministers the tribute of praise that it will merit.

In the Committee of Supply Mr. Hume proposed several reductions in the Naval department; all of which were negatived; and, indeed, the House seems to have contained but ninety-six Members. This is much more the affair of the *landlords* than it is of Mr. Hume, as a matter of interest; and, for our parts, the more we see taken away by Seamen, or rather Sea-officers, and by Staff people and Barrack people and Military Officers of all descriptions, the better we are pleased. We wish they may go on till they take all the rents from the Landlords; and this they certainly will do, unless the Landlords join the people to obtain a Reform of the Parliament. But, Mr. Hume's *exposures* are not the less important, and his merits with the people not the less great, on account of this. He stated, for

instance, that *four hundred and twenty-eight Midshipmen* had been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant since the peace: though (and now mark), there were only four hundred and eight afloat. He ascribed this to *interest*; and our readers know very well what the word *interest* means! He talked of moving for a list of the names of these 428 midshipmen.—We wish he would, in order that the country might see how large a number of these 428 meritorious individuals belonged to families, corporations and boroughs, to whom and to which this happy country is already so much indebted.—Mr. Hume said that he knew that in these promotions “there was a Parliamentary influence exerted on both sides of the House!” We are glad that Mr. Hume said this. This was a stroke at the *regiment* as Sir Francis Burdett used to call it; and, that *both Battalions* will turn their fire on him there can be no doubt. Were it not to be profane we would compare him to the middle personage on a memorable occasion; except, indeed, that we are afraid that neither those on his right nor those on his left will ever be hailed by him as worthy of approbation. Mr. Ellice, who made a conspicuous figure the other day amongst the Jews at one of their charity dinners, said that it was with *great pain* that he had heard several of the motions of his Hon. Friend (Mr. Hume) that night! What, he asked, “was the country come to that state, that *young men*, after 15 or 16 years of *severe* and *meritorious* service were to be told that it was impossi-

“ble to afford them any remuneration?”—In the first place, Mr. Ellice, a man is not very young after 15 or 16 years of service of any sort. In the next place to assume *severe* and *meritorious* service is a downright begging of the question, which no Christian disputant ever admits to be a legitimate mode of arguing. But admit it, (for the sake of argument), and what country upon earth besides this ever promoted 428 Naval Officers in eight years of profound peace? Here is, in this promotion, besides the hundreds upon hundreds that existed before, one Lieutenant to every King’s ship in existence, above the strength of ten guns. But, mark the monstrosity of the thing; here are 428 Lieutenants added to the number that existed before, when the number of seamen is less than 20,000. But, what do we want more than this fact; that a Navy of 20,000 seamen and marines, now, in a season of profound peace costs, *within one million of money*, as much as a navy of a hundred thousand seamen and marines cost in the year 1782, when we had to contend with the navies of Spain, France, Holland, and with all that the Americans could muster, and when we were carrying our maritime war in every quarter of the Globe! What do we want more than this to induce us to applaud and support Mr. Hume! And, as to any particular admiration that we ought to feel towards this particular branch of the service as you call it; as to any particular *gratitude* that we ought to feel in addition to the enormous sums that we pay; we are

very far from wishing to make any subtraction from that gratitude; but, while we recollect, and wish not to forget the victories over the French, Spanish and Dutch; we are not so base as not to recollect, with some degree of shame the figure that our Navy made when it came to be opposed to the Americans. We cannot forget Lake Champlain and Lake Erie; nor can we forget our captured frigates taken into the Ports of New York and Boston under that flag, which Mr. Canning denominated, "a bit of bunting with thirteen stripes flying at a mast head!" There was to be sure, neither Lion nor Unicorn, nor White Horse, nor Rose, nor Thistle, nor Crown; but as Captain Carden said, "the fire was tremendous!"—We will relate an anecdote of a Midshipman of our Navy. He had been sent into the Delawarr with some men along with him, with a captured vessel which his captain had *ransomed*, and for which ransoming that Captain ought to have been most severely punished. However, the midshipman and his men got on shore and deserted. The Americans made them prisoners of war, took them to Philadelphia, gave them provisions and lodgings if they had a mind to stay in the city; but at the same time gave them leave to run about like wild cats. The midshipman got acquainted with a young fellow of Lancaster County, went home with him, and liked the Yankee life so well, that he formed the design of settling, and wrote home to his friends for money. Not being able to get it in this way he came

for it in person, and went to Halifax to Admiral Griffiths to get the Admiral to give him a passage to England on board a King's ship, which the Admiral very kindly did, but, *in the quality of a deserter*. This bright youth was tried for his life on board the Queen Charlotte in Portsmouth harbour, about two years after the peace. His uncle, a *Clergyman of the Church of England*, swore upon his trial, that he was considered to be *deficient in point of intellect before he went into the service*, the truth of which appeared to be strongly corroborated by some of the letters of the young Commander which were produced in Court. However, he was found guilty of desertion and sentenced to be put to death. It would have been a shame indeed to spill the blood of such a creature; and, accordingly, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent pardoned him. But, (and this is the thing to keep in view) this was a *Commander of Men*! This was an Officer of the English Navy! This was one of those to whom the honour of England was intrusted in the war with the Americans, and it was stated at the trial that Sir William Curtis had got him into the Navy!—The Americans do not promote in this way; and we wish Mr. Ellice to recollect, that, notwithstanding the matchless exploits of their Navy, they have not made a *single promotion since the peace*! Yet they have been building ships ever since; and whoever lives to see another war with that country, will, we are convinced, see but too good reasons for believing that those navies are the

most efficient, which have the smallest number of Officers, and that that Nation is the wisest that keeps no more cats than catch mice.

MARCH 20, 1822.

There were only 26 of the Honourable persons who compose the House of Commons that thought proper to go to that place last night; so that nothing appears to have been done *there*.

IN THE LORDS, Lord King moved (preparatory to his intended motion on the Civil List) for an account of ambassadors and other Ministers to foreign Courts in 1791, and for a similar account as applicable to the present time. We suppose his Lordship will include an account of pensions to retired Ministers for the same periods. And, if we get all this information, we shall, we suspect, see, that our country has been as prolific in Ambassadors as in any of the other of the departments of Government. We suspect that we have, at this time, not much short of a hundred persons upon the active and the retired lists put together; and we venture to say, that this department costs us more than the whole of the civil government of the United States costs the people of that country! Mr. Canning had more money per annum as Ambassador to Lisbon than all the ministers to foreign courts cost the United States: and yet, they employ their very greatest and most able men as Ambassadors and Envoys; and they manage negotiations and treaties better, a vast deal, than those of any other country are managed.

Why, then, is *this* country to be so burdened with expenses of this sort? Here we have one of the reasons why a cotton weaver in America has from 8 to 9 dollars a week, while an English cotton-weaver has not two dollars; while, observe, the calico can be made, and is made, cheaper in America than here, and white provisions are cheaper there than here! And yet the impudent varlets would persuade us, that taxes have no effect on the labourer.—If they have none on the labourer, they have, at last, thank God, some on the *landlord*, who is now beginning to feel what he never felt before.—We are often asked, What do all these salaries and pensions and sinecures and grants amount to, compared with the amount of the whole of the taxes?—This, if pertinent, would be cold comfort; for, then, all that you have to do, to justify enormous expenses in salaries and pensions, is to make a great mass of taxes. But, what is it all together, but salary, allowance, pension, sinecure or grant?—In what other way, is this sum of 23, out of 55 (they say it is) millions; in what other way, is this sum expended? The Navy? Oh, ho! Just such a navy (as to number of men) as we have now, cost two millions in 1790, and our present navy costs us six millions! But, we have, perhaps, about six times as many Admirals, Captains, and Lieutenants as we had then. The army (as to privates) is about three times the strength that it was in 1790; but it costs about eight times as much as it did then.—And, what does this difference arise from? why from a staff, from barracks, from military aca-

demies, and other things, which did not exist in 1790. And what are these but so many occasions for salaries, allowances, pensions, sinecures, and grants? What, therefore, is the thing altogether, other than a mass of those very things which the tax-eating varlets would persuade us makes but a mere trifle, compared with the whole amount of the taxes? However (and we wish not to disguise the fact) to put an end to these things, nay, to reduce these expenses in any degree, proportioned to the exigency of the case, does imply the causing of a total change of this present system of carrying on Government. Whether the landlords have the courage to face this we know not; but we know, that this is what they must do, or lose their last inch of land and last hedge-stake. There seems, just at this moment, a pause in their minds. They begin, we think, to discover the capriciousness of superabundant crops; and, if they really should see their true prospects, they will run restive, even this present Session.

MARCH 21, 1822.

MR. CURWEN'S motion for a Committee to consider of augmenting the duty on *foreign tallow*, with a view to take off the tax on *candles*, met with the fate that it deserved; namely, a *negative without a division*. To take off the tax on candles would be right enough; but, to injure commerce and manufactures, and to enfeeble the country, in order to put *rents* into the pockets of landlords, is the principle, the abominable principle of the Corn Bill. Mr. Curwen's great mistake

is, that *rents* are necessary to the cultivation of the land. This is the same great error as that committed by Mr. T. P. or P. T. or something, Courtenay, (who, Mr. Canning says, has ten children), who wrote the Treasury Pamphlet that was published late in January to console the landlords. They are not at all necessary to the cultivation of the land; and that the landlords will find practically demonstrated, in a very reasonable space of time. If Mr. Curwen had read Mr. Cobbett's Rustic Harangue at Chichester, he would not have put *rents* amongst the necessary cost of farm-produce.—May the fate of this attempt be that of every one which shall be made to get rents by raising the price of farm produce?

The Army Estimates were again before the House, and again Mr. Hume made vain efforts to obtain reductions. Sir W. De Crespigny observed, that, if "the distress were not removed, there must be a *revolution*." Now, the Ministers say, if you take off taxes (that is, if you do remove the distress) there must be a *revolution*. So that, according to the two, a revolution we must have; and this would be very hard upon the "loyal," who supported a war of twenty-five years to save the country from revolution! However, they did pledge themselves, and put their names to it, to spend their last shilling and shed the last drop of their blood in the cause. The Ministers will, we dare say, let them off without requiring the last part of the pledge, and in this they will have our cordial approbation; for, as to their blood, it will become pale enough

without any positive opening of the veins.—They are now undergoing a course of medicine that will be quite effectual; and the good of the thing is, the medicine is administered by their *friends*. The people, to keep whom down the last drop was to be shed, are standing by to see the *physic* work!—Something was said by Mr. Fyshe Palmer and others about that “institution of the country,” that “landmark of the constitution” the *Military Academy* at Sandhurst; but we must notice this to-morrow.

MARCH 22, 1822.

WEST INDIES.—We had not room yesterday to notice, that it was declared, the night before last, that some measure was to be adopted for the relief of the Colonies. Indeed! What, to pay off the mortgages? The colonies in the West Indies (the only ones worth possessing) have been ruined; and now they are to be relieved! The proprietors have been pretty nearly relieved of their estates; and, in short, it is a declining, decaying, piece-meal perishing kingdom, from the centre to the utmost verge of the circle. All is oppressed with the mortal weight of taxation, co-operating with the effects of a system of paper-money, and an attempt to do what a nation never attempted before, to pay in gold a debt contracted in paper.—Besides this general oppression, the West Indies are suffering under the oppressive effects of leeches set on by the Mother country to suck away their blood. These colonies are said to be *expensive*. Good God! They are compelled to bring their

produce to a market where great part of it is not wanted; they are compelled to purchase their necessities where they are twice as costly as in other markets that they might go to; their produce, when it comes here, is taxed so as to leave them of net proceeds scarcely a shilling in the pound out of the retail market price; and the kind and tender old Mother, not content with all this, must give an indulgence to her CANT at their expense; and they are to suffer in order that a knot of the most unprincipled and selfish hypocrites that ever walked the face of the earth may acquire the praise of “humanity,”—when these very hypocrites have notoriously been, and constantly been, amongst the most cruel oppressors of the people of England; it being a fact, admitting of no qualification, that every one of these abominable hypocrites has been the decided supporter of every measure of cruelty adopted in England and Ireland, and especially of every act making the people more and more like slaves. Son of cant; thou prime hypocrite! thou hypocrisy personified; didst thou ever hear of Negro slaves being put more than half to death for being out of their cabins between sunset and sunrise? Yet, in order to gratify the base ambition of these crafty hypocrites (who have turned their cant to good money-account too) have the only colonies worth keeping been, in great part, ruined.—An honest Minister would never have been instrumental in such an act of injustice. Compensation was given for the loss of corrupt boroughs in Ireland; and why was not compensation to be given to the West

Indians? We always seem to forget, that the West Indians are merely English farmers somewhat further from us than those in the Isle of Wight. However, it is pretty nearly useless to say any thing on the subject: the West Indies must share the fate of Norfolk and Devonshire; that is to say, undergo a radical change in some way or other. It is notorious, that the colonies of other nations are now riding over ours, as the farms of other countries are riding over our farms; and from the same causes. These causes will continue to work, and at much about the same rate, in both cases. All is decaying together; and all will finally dissolve together.

NAVY ESTIMATES.—Last night Mr. Hume again made attempts to obtain reductions, and, if he did not succeed in that, he succeeded in making *exposures*, which is all that we, at present, expect, or, indeed, wish to see; for, as the weight is now falling on the *land-lords*, the heavier it is, the better we like it.—Mr. Hume remarked on the *flagrancy* of making so many *Generals of Marines*, and making them out of *Admirals* too, as in the case of Sir G. Cockburn, who, while he is an *Admiral* and a *Lord of the Admiralty* is also a *General of Marines*!—Yet this “*institution of the country*,” this “*ancient landmark of the constitution*” was defended with might and main: *this, oh, this!* was a thing not to let go, at any rate, whatever else might be “sacrificed.” The conduct of the “regiment” puts us in mind of Pope’s dying hunks, when the sinner is making his will:

The *Manor*, Sir? That too! he faintly sigh’d

No; I cannot part with *that*, and—*died!*

We may have misquoted; but, we have the meaning; and this will be much about the case with the “regiment.” They will cling to every penny and every post to the last possible moment. Every thing, as it is proposed to be taken away, will be the identical thing that they cannot part with; and, we suspect, that a future poet may record the events by a slight alteration of Pope:

The *Boroughs, Gents*? Those too! they faintly sigh’d.

No: we cannot part with *them*; and—*died!*

As to expecting any *timely* yielding, the thing can enter into the mind of no man that knows any thing of this “regiment.” And, in fact, the borough system stands in need of *all*, and even more than all, that it has now to support it; and, as we have a thousand times said, the man who talks about *economical* reform without *parliamentary* reform must be *fool* or hypocrite. Either a reform of Parliament is necessary, or the double-jointed post-master is necessary. To reform by piecemeal is impossible; and if all, or even a half, of that part of the expenditure which is not necessary to the carrying on of the nation’s affairs, were cut off, without a reform of Parliament, we should see the whole thing tumble to pieces. Nay, it totters even now, when nothing but a talk of such cuttings off has taken place.

More Petitions were referred to the *Agricultural Committee*. When this already famous body will

make their *second* Report we cannot even guess; but, if it be equal in bright ideas to the *first*, the two will be a pair of documents such as we defy the world to match! In these we shall possess specimens of the produce of what Lord Castlereagh calls "the education of the country." We feel, indeed, what that education is capable of effecting; we have its effects before us, in ruined farmers and tradesmen, and in the beggary of the labouring classes. *Ireland*, poor Ireland! That country, where men are transported for being out of their houses between sunset and sunrise, gives us the means of judging of the qualities of "the education of the country." But, still, it will be pleasant to possess these two documents; because we can appeal to them, at any time hereafter, as proof of the nature and tendency of this "education," which, it seems, is the only thing fit for devising measures for our good.

The Unitarians are again petitioning to be relieved from *undergoing* the marriage ceremony! Would they not do better to pray to be relieved from the *consequences* of the thing? Their "*religious feeling*" is, it appears, "*hurt*" by being compelled to *undergo* this ceremony. This is always the way that things go on here. Whenever you see that men ought to be united to gain some great point for the general good, some *sect* pokes its nose forward, and makes such a noise about some little nonsensical thing that a division of the moral force is instantly effected; and this is precisely what is wanted by those who are for

making no change for the better. Do the Unitarians regard marriage as a *civil contract*, or do they not? If they do not, what *authority* have they for the contrary other than that authority which the Trinitarians have for their Creed? And, if they do regard it as a *civil contract*, what has their "*religious feeling*" to do with the ceremony which the law has pointed out to be used in the making, or the confirming, of that contract? How is it where marriages are contracted before the *civil magistrate*? Are not such contracted, by all denominations of Christians, in some countries? What, then, has *religion* to do with the matter? But, what can it have to do with the matter in the minds of those, who take the liberty to differ in opinion from all other sects of Christians as to the main and fundamental doctrine of the Christian Church? And, is it, let us ask them, *worth while* to make such a fuss about this marriage ceremony at a time like this? Let those amongst them, who possess the means, help to put in a true, a full light the *temporalities* of the church. That is the part that is really *vital*.

MARCH 23, 1822.

Some very curious and interesting matter arose last night. Not a "*grand debate*," but something a great deal more *useful*; as pretty an *exposure* as we have had the pleasure to witness for a long while. The subjects were; the *Purity of the House*; and, the *Army Estimates*; two very large subjects, on which (after referring our readers to the debates

themselves) we beg to call their attention to a few remarks.

PURITY OF THE HOUSE.—Mr. Lambton presented a Petition from 4,820 persons from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, complaining of the treatment, and praying for the release of Mr. Hunt. Sir M. W. Ridley condemned the petition, because it did not proceed from a *public meeting*; and said that a petition *privately got up* was not to be regarded as speaking the opinion of the people in general. Mr. Freemantle, upon the motion that the petition should lie on the table, objected to it, because the petition talked of the notorious and avowed corruption of the House of Commons; and Mr. Lushington pointed out another passage in the petition, which he thought equally objectionable. Mr. Peel said the House was bound to protect its *own dignity* and character in order to give more ample protection to the sacred right of petition.—Before we proceed to notice what was said on the other side, we must beg to refer our readers to the petition itself, which will be found in another part of our paper, begging leave to point out to them a passage in it of which the Honourable Members before-mentioned seem to have taken no notice whatever: the passage we allude to is this: the petitioners express their hope, that the House will interfere in behalf of Mr. Hunt, “seeing that his further imprisonment, and even his death, would not tend to *perpetuate the paper and borough systems*, or answer any of the ends proposed by his persecutors.” This was the passage that struck us. It discovered

mind. It discovered good plain sense. We liked the whole of the petition; but this passage convinced us, that these petitioners know what is what; and entertain the *only rational hope* that the circumstances of the country warrant. How it must have made the ears of some people tingle when this was read. There only wanted another word; namely, **RENTS**. That is the word. For, as we had the honour to tell the Chancellor of the Exchequer, eight years ago, none of the proceedings of the sort here alluded to, will put rents in the pockets of the landlords. This is what we look to as the effect of the paper and borough systems; and, to cheer the people, the good and worthy people that have signed this petition, we have the pleasure to tell them, that corn on an average, was, on the Ninth of this present month of March, *more than ten per cent. lower than it was in the year 1792*, and, we have to add, that since that time it has been falling in price, while the weather has been and is such, as to give us hope, that we shall next fall, hear put up in the churches thanksgivings for plenty. These things and the *Debt*, will produce every thing that the petitioners want. Steady, then is the word, for time is regularly working to produce that which is wanted by every honest man in the kingdom.—To return to the debate, which was maintained on the other side by Mr. James, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Lambton, it was observed, in answer to Sir M. W. Ridley's objection to petitions *privately got up*, that such objection was very absurd, when it was perfectly noto-

rious that there could be no public meeting upon such a subject without danger to the lives of the parties: Here are laws to prevent public meetings; and this gentleman objects to private ones; so that, between the two, there can be no petitions at all.—As to the objection, founded on the words that charged the House with *notorious and avowed corruption*; Mr. James said that *the late Speaker* had made a declaration to that effect; upon which Mr. Wynne said that it was astonishing that this falsehood should have had currency for ten years. Now, Mr. James merely made a mistake; and no *falsehood* relating to the matter has had any currency at all. The facts are these: on the 11th of May (we think it was) 1809, Mr. Maddox declared in the House of Commons that Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Percival, and Mr. Henry Wellesley had been concerned in selling a seat in that House to Mr. Quintin Dick. Mr. Maddox pledged himself to prove the facts at the bar of the House if they would let him. He made a motion in order to obtain permission to produce such proof. This motion was opposed and negatived by a very large majority, though the House had resolved only a few months before, that its first duty was to watch over and to secure its own purity! During the debate on Mr. Maddox's motion, many declarations were made, on both sides of the House apologizing for the conduct of the parties accused; and amongst the apologizers was Mr. Ponsouby, who, in justification of his opposition to Mr. Maddox's motion said, that the practice complained of by Mr. Mad-

dox was "*as notorious as the sun at noonday.*" The late Speaker, in a few days afterwards (the House being in Committee) took occasion to allude to this avowal of notorious corruption, and said, that, at such an avowal "*our forefathers would have startled with horror.*" This is the true history of the thing.—Mr. James's was merely a mistake, and there has been no falsehood in circulation for ten years, respecting this matter.—It was further urged in support of this allegation of the petition, that the declarations of the Ministers themselves during the debate on the double post-master amounted to something very like such an avowal. This point was well urged; and not the smallest attempt appears to have been made in the way of answer.—Mr. Wynne found fault of expressions in the petition respecting the conduct of the Judges in the case of Mr. Hunt; and he said that if they suffered the decisions of the Judges to be attributed to corrupt motives, the greatest injuries must follow to the country. This doctrine of Mr. Wynne, carried to its full extent, would leave the people no security at all for fortune or for life. Leaving the present Judges out of the question; leaving their conduct, in cases like that before us, to be judged of by others, let us suppose that villains like Jefferies and Scroggs were again to come upon the Bench; villains who were the mere tools of the Ministry of the day, and who committed such innumerable and cruel murders, and under the sacred names of law and justice; or, supposing less brutal villains than these, but more cool, more

crafty, and not less cruel, with soft and pussy-like purr; and clothed in all the exterior and the cant of religion; suppose half-a-dozen villains of this description seated on the Bench and dealing about the country death or ruin on all those who had spirit enough left to cry out against abuses; suppose a state of things like this; suppose a set of such villains, perverting, stretching and garbling the law in all sorts of ways, creating false alarms by their charges, mis-directing juries, poisoning their minds against the accused, sometimes getting verdicts from them by terror and sometimes by wheedling; suppose a state of things like this, will Mr. Wynne say, that the people are not to petition their representatives, and complain to them of these abominations? If the people have not liberty to do this, in the case supposed, that people might, without any injury to themselves, change rulers with the Dey of Algiers.—It is not, therefore, as applicable to the present case, that we consider Mr. Wynne's argument; but, as applicable to all possible cases that might arise, and in that view of it, it has our decided opposition.—Is there not always formed in the House of Commons, during every Session, a *standing* "*Committee of Justice*?"—What is this Committee for, if it be not to watch over the conduct of Courts of Justice; and, if it be mischievous to suppose that judges can possibly be corrupt and partial or vindictive, then the very existence of this Committee would be a mockery; and we ask Mr. Wynne seriously to answer this question; namely,

if a petition is not to be received because it accuses the courts of disgraceful and vindictive proceedings; if such a petition is not to be received; we ask Mr. Wynne what that Committee of Justice is for? We offer no opinion as to the conduct of the present Judges and prosecutors; but if such a petition is not to be received, we can imagine no possible means of redress from the Parliament in matters of this sort, however great and flagrant the corruption or partiality might be.—Mr. Mansfield, (who, it seems, is a Member for Leicester), asked if it was *pleasant to the ears* of Gentlemen to hear this charge of notorious corruption. Why, certainly, it cannot be very pleasant to their ears; but, is that any objection to the receiving of a petition? If that be the case, the people must never complain at all, either of Acts of Parliament or of Acts of the Government. The House divided, at last, when there appeared 22 for receiving the petition, and 123 against it; and, really, so anxious are we upon the subject of rents, that, if even this decision; if even this rejection of the petition would cause rents to be paid, our feelings with regard to the rejection would be very different from what they are. Well satisfied in our own minds that the decision can have no effect with regard to rents, we shall leave the matter where it is, without taking up any more of the time of our readers with remarks upon it.

In the debate on the *Army Estimates* some very curious things came out, particularly as to the half-pay of German Officers, and the half-pay of Officers, who, since

the Peace, have entered into Holy Orders. But, this is a large subject, and must be treated of with more method and with more time for referring to particulars and for developing principles than we have at present.* We must notice, however, a great triumph which the Ministers gained over Mr. Hume last night. He had reckoned two thousand five hundred and fifty-three promotions in the army *since the Peace*. That is to say, this number of men brought into the army, instead of being taken out of the half-pay. The Ministers detected him; for, they showed that he had reckoned all the *removes* in the army caused by the vacancies: and they said, that there had been *only* (mark the word *only*) six hundred and sixty-three vacancies filled up! This was enough in all conscience; and Mr. Hume showed how natural it was for him to make the mistake; so confused as the statements were, and such *fighting*, to use his own expression, as he had had to get any statements at all. He fought hard now, too, to get some further reductions of expense; but in vain; or, rather, without accomplishing the object of his endeavours; for we, for our parts, do not wish to see any reduction of expense at all at present. High taxes and low prices will do every thing that we wish to see done. If the taxes could be reduced to their amount in 1792 without a reform of Parliament, we should never have that reform; and we want to see the country much *less* taxed than it was in the year 1792. We therefore always congratulate the landlords on every vote of money passed by the House of Com-

mows; and the larger the vote the better we like it. Mr. Wilson (Member for London) spoke about commissions which were purchased *with a view of an annuity*, and said that the first offer in such cases, the first offer should be made to the public through the Chancellor of the Exchequer! What! is there a species of annuities granted in this way? We should like to be a little more informed about this. It is a very curious matter. Not that we object to part of the rents going in this way; for these pretty gentlemen who dress so small round the waist, and so pigeon-like at the bosom, can distribute rents as well as landlords can; but the thing is so *curious*, that we should like to dive into it a little, and to ask Lord Liverpool, whether he can find any thing like *this* in America; as he finds so much similarity in the distresses of the two countries, and in the cause of those distresses.

Mr. Theodore Hook came upon the tapis last night. Mr. Beanet said, that he had, on the 21st of February, moved for a Report from the Audit-office of the accounts of this pretty gentleman, and that no *returns had since been made*. He now moved that the said returns be made *forthwith*. *We shall see!* We shall see what will be the result of this; and, when the "*John Bull*" can find a corner for a serious subject, we would recommend it to take up *this*.

We cannot lay down the pen without noticing a Petition from the *Dean and Chapter of Bristol*, against the Bristol Port Bill. What the deuce can these spiritual persons have to do with affairs of

shipping and commercial traffic! Or does the Bill relate to Bristol port-wine? We have never heard of the Bill before, but the interposition of these reverend persons has, we must confess, given a high stimulus to our curiosity.

MARCH 26, 1892.

A CAPTAIN ROMEO had a Petition, which was presented last night by Lord John Russell, and supported by Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Hume. It was opposed by Mr. Wilmot and Lord Castlereagh; but, was ordered to be printed. It asked for money, which we trust will not be granted to the amount of a single farthing; and we must say, that we do not agree with those, who, in the present state of the country, would load us with even additional burdens for no earthly reason that (as far as this case goes) we can discover, except that of, *pecking* at the Ministers. This Captain Romeo claims money for what he calls *services* rendered this country during the late war. He, sometime ago, wrote and published a book on the subject; a copy of that book was sent to us; and, after duly considering the present claim, we had, and have no hesitation to express our opinion, that what the "Captain" has already received is a most monstrous *over-payment*; or, at least, would be so considered in any country but this, and by any other Government. And, we must say, that, if to give more heaps of our money to this man be a specimen of that "*economy*" which the "Opposition" would

put in practice, there can be none but sheer place-hunters that can wish for a change in the Ministry. The sort of *services* rendered by this Capt. Romeo may be guessed from what Sir Robert Wilson said: "That several individuals " had been arrested and put to " death for *treason* in Sicily, in " consequence of the discovery, " by Capt. Romeo, of a *conspiracy*, the object of which was " the *destruction* of the British " army. He would ask, whether " the frustration of a conspiracy, " which had *justified* the execution (putting to death) the *head* " of the police, did not call for a " larger recompence than three " hundred pounds?" What! does Sir Robert estimate *services* of this sort by the quantity and quality of the blood that is shed on the scaffold in consequence of those services? Doubtless it was right to make discovery of an intention to destroy the British army. But, is not the sum of 300*l.* sterling a pretty handsome reward for such a service? Besides, if *more* was expected, in what a *light* are we to view this species of "*service*," and what dangerous work we are encouraging! We are unwilling to affix any *odious* character to the "*services*" of CAPTAIN ROMEO; but, is it not clear, that, if *money* was to be the price of a discovery that brought many persons to *death* on a charge of *treason*, we ought to be careful how we decide in favour of the party claiming the money. Lord Castlereagh's answer was complete. It was in the power of our generals to reward the petitioner; and they would have done it, if they had found him to deserve it. An

account of his claims had been sent to our Ambassador at Naples. He had made inquiries; and found that the claims ought not to be granted. Amongst these claims was one of 2,500*l.* which Romeo alleges he gave to the mistress of a French General? Monstrous! where was he to get such a sum of money to give to a prostitute to get secrets out of her? And, as Lord Castlereagh observed, Romeo (so close was he) kept this transaction a secret from General Campbell and Lord W. Bentinck, under whom he was serving! No, no: this adventure, "Romeo and Juliet" story, like the old one of that name, would tell better in England than in "Mantua." It is a wonder he had not made a charge against us for bribing Juliet's nurse! We wonder how the Opposition, and particularly Mr. Hume, could have given countenance to such a trumpery story. But, we object most seriously to the giving of money to such persons except in cases of a very particular nature; and we by no means hold it to be a conclusive proof of merit in a man, because individuals have been put to death on a charge of *treason*, in consequence of discoveries made by that man. That the charge of *treason* ought not always to be looked upon as meriting death, we might appeal to Sir Robert Wilson himself, no very small portion of whose claims to be elected a Member of Parliament for the Borough were, if our memory be not very treacherous, grounded on his having assisted in causing the secure escape of an alleged traitor; while there is a gentleman who slips about the

country, wishing, apparently, to attract great popularity, under the appellation of "*Lavalette Bruce*." To be sure, Lavalette was the *heart of the Post-office* in France; and it is curious enough that Sir Robert should think Capt. Romeo worthy of some more of our taxes because he brought to the gallows or scaffold the *head of the police in Sicily*!—The last argument in favour of this man is, that he is in *distress*. The Government gave him fifty pounds a-year, more than it takes to maintain two English labourer's families, and that would have kept him like a gentleman, if he had chosen to return to his own country, and if he had *his reasons* for not doing that. I am sure our Government have their reasons for not giving him more.—We were sorry to see Mr. Hume pleading for granting money to this man; and, at any rate, we approve of the conduct of the Ministers in rejecting his claims.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.—A Petition was presented by Lord Granville Somerset from Owners and Occupiers of Land in Monmouthshire, and one by Mr. Heathcote from Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, both of which complained of distress; both prayed for a *reduction of taxation*; and the latter for *Parliamentary Reform*. Mr. Birch, in speaking upon these petitions observed that he deprecated every attempt to *raise the price of food*; and he stated that though it had been said that manufactures were *flourishing* he should be glad to find them in that state; but that, *flourishing* as they were, the wages were so low, that there were only eight shillings a-week for

the support of a man, his wife and family, who were therefore capable of existing, only because provisions were cheap. In the course of his speech, Mr. Birch observed, that there was a rumour afloat, that it had been proposed in the Agricultural Committee, for the Government to advance a certain sum, to be laid out in corn in order to *raise the price*. He deprecated this, and said that the only way in which relief could come to the land, as well as to the rest of the country, was by the reduction of taxation. On this Sir. T. Lethbridge observed, that if Government did advance money in this manner, it would only be doing *for the farmer, what had already been done for the manufacturer*. We suppose he must mean for the West India merchants and planters. But, without attempting to justify what was then done by the Government, let it be observed that the cases are wholly dissimilar. The West India produce the Government already held under bond. The stagnation in the West India concern was owing to temporary causes connected with the war; and, therefore, there is no similarity in the cases. —Something nearer to the point is the money lately advanced to manufacturers and others in Ireland, in consequence of the breaking of the banks there. But what have any cases of this sort to do with the one before us? West India produce and manufactures may be checked in their future amount; but, can the produce of the land? If the next harvest should prove abundant, what will then become of the corn purchased up by the Government?

It must be sold *at last*; and whenever it be sold, must not the prices of that day be lowered? —Sir T. Lethbridge calls this “doing something for the *farmer*.” We beg Sir Thomas’s pardon; it is doing nothing for the farmer. It may put money into the pocket of the landlord out of the farmer’s capital, by inducing the farmer to go on; but, at last, it can only tend to ruin the farmer; nor can it postpone the ruin of the farmer but for a short period. Sir Thomas said, that it was *impossible* to close the Session without doing something more than had hitherto been done for agriculture. One would *think* so; but, after what we have seen, we should be very insincere if we were to say that we expected any thing to be done during this Session of Parliament. We must wait for another Session. The farmers have some capital left yet; and that capital must for the greater part be drained away from the landlords and parsons, before the landlords will make any very stout fight against taxation.

ORDNANCE ESTIMATES.—These were brought forward by Mr. Ward and very elaborately exposed by Mr. Hume. To go into the particulars in this place would be impossible; and we must content ourselves that no reduction whatever was obtained; nor, indeed, could any reduction possibly be asked for, by any one who allowed it to be proper to reimburse Capt. Romeo the 2,500*l.* which he gave to the *Juliet* of the French General. We, for our parts, are for reducing the taxes and in a very large proportion indeed; but we are not for requiring the Ministers to pay money;

we are not for reproaching them for not squandering money, while, at the same time, we refuse them the taxes. In short, either there must be a sweeping away of the expenditure, or the taxes must be retained.

MARCH 27, 1822.

IN THE COMMONS nothing done. Only 21 Members appeared, and the House adjourned.

IN THE LORDS there was very important matter, in consequence of a motion made by Lord King relative to the *Civil List*. But, before we proceed to that subject, which is one of great interest, we must not pass over a notice given by Lord Grey, that he should, after the Holidays, bring forward the question of the *distress of the country*. His Lordship first asked the Ministers, whether they had proposed *all* they intended to propose on the subject; and Lord Liverpool having answered, that there was a *Committee of the Commons sitting*; but, that, as to himself, he knew of no particular measure for Agricultural relief being in contemplation, Lord Grey said, that he had no hope in any thing that that Committee would do; that the measures which had been adopted were *trifling and nugatory*, and that his conviction was, that *reduction of taxes* was the only means of affording relief; and that, therefore, on an early day after the holidays, he should bring the subject before the House. We are glad of this; for we shall now see something worth looking at, at any rate.

CANADA.—Lord Grey presented a Petition from this Colony, complaining of *distress of all sorts*, and praying that its corn, duty

free, might be sent into our ports! "*Vive la confusion!*" was one of the wild exclamations in France, in 1793; and, really, it would seem, that our pretty fellows have brought us to nearly the same point; for, turn which way we may, present distress and distraction and threatening confusion and convulsion stare us in the face.

CIVIL LIST.—Lord King introduced the subject in a speech of considerable length and great ability, and particularly great *point*. He concluded with a motion for *reduction of salaries and allowances*. Lord Liverpool opposed the motion, which was supported by Lord Holland (in a very able speech too); but, notwithstanding all the good grounds, that we are going to notice, on which the motion stood, it was negatived without a division. Lord Ellenborough said something also, which we shall have to notice.—Lord King judiciously confined his main attack on the *diplomatic expenditure*. His point was this: that, in 1792, our Ministers at foreign courts cost us 80,500*l.* a-year; and that in 1821, they cost us 280,000*l.*, which, of course, is intended to be the standing charge. His Lordship entered into particular instances, and, in going through these, mentioned the case of Mr. H. W. Wynne, of famous *Dresden notoriety*, who is now gone to Switzerland with a salary of 4,500*l.* at a place where we used to pay our Minister 250*l.* a-year!—This is quite enough to satisfy the country, that, without a *change* in that body who vote away the money, all the landlords and all the indastrious classes in this country must

be reduced to a mere sufficiency to sustain life. There is absolutely no remedy but this. His Lordship mentioned too, that this thrifty scion of the Grenville trunk, received, while at Dresden, 5,414*l.* for loss of a library which was accidentally consumed by fire! Good God! But, it is useless to fret oneself. This thing must have an end. It never can go on in this way. Let us, however, always bear in mind, that this sort of expenditure could not take place, if the *House of Commons* did not vote the money. To that House it is that we are indebted for the whole of that of which Lord King complained, and of which he drew so horrid a picture.—The public will bear in mind, too, that this enormous increase of salaries and allowances is to continue at a time when the distress of the country is acknowledged; and at a time when the prices of produce are lower than they were in 1792; and, at a time when, in foreign countries the Ministers assert, that prices are still more depressed than they are here! What defence had the Ministers to offer? A parcel of common-places about the necessity of keeping up our dignity in the eyes of foreigners, and a “solemn declaration,” on the part of Lord Liverpool, “that not a single one of these appointments had annexed to it a sum exceeding what was necessary;” which declaration, “solemn” as it was, left the matter just as the Noble Lord found it. This Noble Lord did, however, make a peck in the way of defence. He said, that the *Finance Committee* of 1816 (or 1817) had warranted these charges. His Lordship knows, I suppose, that it was the Ministers

themselves, and not Lord King, that selected that Committee! What, then, was any decision of that Committee to Lord King? What answer was it to his Lordship, or to the distressed nation, for whom he was pleading? But, Lord Liverpool (in answer to an observation of Lord King, that money had risen in value) let slip out, that the extent to which depreciation had been carried was well understood in 1817. Indeed! Then, as far as his Lordship of Liverpool is concerned, there must have been, since that time, a great falling off in the understanding as to this matter; for, that he does not now (or did not the other day) understand the extent of the then depreciation, Mr. Cobbett has most clearly proved in his first letter to his Lordship. Lord Ellenborough contended (in apparent opposition to the motion of Lord King) “that of all the different species of expenditure incurred by Government, that now before them was the most necessary; for it was information; it was dispatch; in short it was *Secret Service Money*.” We would first remark that this corresponds perfectly with our commentary of the other day. When you want a reduction of expense, be that expense what it may; it is not only opposed; the expense is not only stated to be necessary; but to be the most necessary of all the expenses of the Government. But, Lord Holland gave a perfectly good answer to this description of the uses of diplomatic expenditure, in the observation which he made, that the expense of Lord Castlereagh’s mission to Vienna; that the expenses of this mission

alone (and we know it did not last a year) cost more, by two thousand pounds, than all the allowances to all the different foreign ministers of the United States of America. This is not only true; but it exceeded the amount of those allowances in a much greater degree; and, as his Lordship very pertinently asked, will Lord Liverpool or Lord Castlereagh venture to say that the diplomatic posts of the United States, filled by Jefferson, King, Monroe, Adams, Gallatin, Crawford, Clay, and the rest have not been *more* ably filled than ours have been by the Clancarties, the Stewarts, the Wynnes, the Cathcarts, the John Borlase Warrens, the A'Courts and the rest of them? As to our own opinion it is this, that if there could be a distillation of talent and if the essence of all our diplomatists put together for the last thirty years were collected into one mass, it would not present any thing equal to the knowledge and the talent at writing of Mr. Jefferson himself; who, be it remembered, received less than one thousand pounds a year as Ambassador to France; and who, while he was President of the United States, while he was the Chief Magistrate of a Nation containing ten millions of people; even when he was in this office, and had ten Ambassadors to represent him at Foreign Courts, his salary was but *five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds a year*; that is to say, only a little more than *one-third* of as much as Lord Clancarty now receives as our Ambassador in Holland! Alas! what do we want more to account for the American labourer receiving a dollar a-day while the

English labourer receives a quarter of a dollar a-day, though provisions are lower priced there than they are here? However, (and this let our readers never lose sight of) thus it must be until there be a Reform of the House of Commons.

MARCH 28, 1822.

In the House of Lords no debate occurred last night; but the papers relative to Roasted Wheat, which were moved for by Lord Lansdowne, were supplied by Mr. Adrian of the Treasury and laid upon the table.

In the House of Commons, Sir Robert Wilson shortly introduced the question of "*Vegetable Powder*," (roasted wheat), and observed that he had received a letter from a man who had been prevailed on to plead guilty to the charge of selling such on a promise that he should hear no more of it; but who has since been convicted of it and sentenced to pay a fine of 60*l*., in default of which he is now in prison!

Sir Francis Burdett withdrew his motion with respect to Mr. Hunt, for the present, but afterwards fixed it for Tuesday next. We understand it was a thin House.

Dr. Lushington presented a Petition from John Barkley, a boy now suffering under a sentence of six months' imprisonment, for having, in his capacity of shopman to Mr. Carlile, sold a blasphemous and seditious libel. The petitioner states that he had suffered long imprisonment previous to his trial, and that, when brought to trial, his Counsel chal-

lenged the jury, they having only one or two days before, given a verdict on a similar case, but that the Common Serjeant who presided as judge, overruled this objection, and the Counsel for the prosecution referred the jury to their former verdict as a guide to them in that which they were about to give. And, for consistency's sake, the petitioner was found guilty. Dr. Lushington strongly reprobated the decision of the Common Serjeant, urging arguments to prove the incompetency of the jury to try the petitioner's case, in which he stated that the Foreman had himself complained of being placed in a perplexed and painful situation in consequence of the decision of his fellow jurors. Dr. Lushington also complained that the petitioner was subjected to hard labour in the gaol where he was confined, but that he had been informed by respectable persons who had heard the sentence passed on the petitioner, that this latter did not form a part of that sentence, but had been subsequently introduced by interlineation.

The Solicitor-General urged the mischievous tendency of the publication prosecuted, and said that the only question for the consideration of the jury was, whether the party accused had taken part in the publication. And, if the Gaoler had deviated from the terms of the sentence, the petitioner could have redress in any Court of law.—The petition was ordered to be printed.

GAOL DELIVERY.—Sir Eliab Harvey presented a Petition from the Grand Jury of Essex, praying the House to adopt some means by which Gaol Deliveries may

occur more frequently in that County than they now do. It was found, by examining the calendar of the last Lent Assizes, that the previous Summer Assizes were held so long as eight months before.

Mr. Western proposed to remedy the evil by augmenting the number of deliveries to four in the year, and by an increase of Judges.

Mr. Peel thought the question one of importance, and assured the House it had not escaped the consideration of the Government. But he thought it a difficult question, and was the more convinced of the difficulty of it, from hearing the expedient suggested as a remedy by Mr. Western.—The debate seems then to have degenerated into a question of Judges' salaries, which were thought *inadequate*!

SUPPLY.—Mr. Hume put some questions to the Chancellor of the Exchequer relative to the application of certain remittances from our colonies abroad. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not choose to answer the questions as they were put, but said that returns would be laid before Parliament. The House then went into a Committee of Supply on the Ordnance Estimates. We have not now time to notice the Speech of Mr. Hume, which, though full of exposures in detail, was not answered.

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APRIL 1, 1822.

For some days, for reasons that other parts of our paper will make obvious enough, we have omitted to notice what has passed in what poor Mr. Bessy used to call the

they have to endure from the hawling and nonsense of lawyers, we should not have thought the proposition so very unreasonable; but our answer would have been, that their Lordships have themselves the power of cutting short that noise and nonsense, a power which they never exercise without receiving the applause of the public. However, this is an evil which will correct itself. The absence of rents and the disappearance of paper-money will lessen the quantity of fees; and the length and sound of speech will undergo a proportionate diminution. We have great pleasure in hearing that the *business*, as it is called, in the Court of King's Bench, has fallen off in an astonishing degree! This is a positive good. It is an unmixed benefit to the country, and the most effectual mode of diminishing what Dr. Lushington calls the arduous duty of the Judges.

MARRIAGE ACT. — Dr. Phillimore, now a Member of the Board of Control, again brought forward his Bill to amend the Marriage Act. His principal object appears to be to prevent marriages from being dissolved, when contracted without consent under certain circumstances. This seems to be in direct opposition to the intention of a Learned Brother of the Doctor, which is to prevent thoughtless marriages! We suspect that the Learned Brothers might as well withdraw their projects, until, at least, we shall be able to give some sort of guess of what is to become of any of us, and especially of those who need to trouble their heads much about heirs and heiresses.

APRIL 2, 1832.

Thursday, March 23. — In the House of Lords, Lord Melville took occasion to observe that he regretted the reduction of the two Lords of the Admiralty; in which, we are very certain, his Lordship was sincere.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Canning (who now appears to have become a man of great business), presented Petitions from West India Merchants and Planters praying for a re-opening of the trade between them and the West India islands of America. Whether these petitions will be successful or not, we cannot say. The present restrictions look like spite more than anything else; and the sooner they are got rid of the better. Leaving justice out of the question; those restrictions can only tend to benefit the islands of France and Spain at the expense of the English islands. Had we possession of all the West islands, the case would be different. We should then have the power, though it would be foolish to use it, to grasp a monopoly of the carrying trade between the West India islands and the United States. But, as the case now stands, we are, by such restrictions, really effecting no object but that of ruining our own colonists, to benefit the colonists of our rivals.

Sir Robert Wilson had a Petition to present from the inhabitants of Bethnal Green, praying for the liberation of Mr. Hunt. The Petitioners stated, that it was not their wish to offer any insult to the House, but when they saw it openly published as coming from the mouth of a Member of

that House, that the practice of *seat-selling was as notorious as the sun at noonday*; and when they read in the *New Times* of the 18th February, that a Mr. Spooner had stated at a Meeting at Worcester, "that the House was filled with 'boys' who were sent there to vote whichever way the Minister directed, and that he had seen them collected from coffeehouses, balls, and other such places, to give their votes, only requiring for that purpose to know on which side was the Marquis of Londonderry, and which Mr. Tierney;" they could not help thinking, these things being uncontradicted, that the punishment of Mr. Hunt, for merely expressing an opinion that Reform was necessary, was too severe. Mr. Dickenson (one of the Members for Somersetshire) said that this petition was a foul calumny on the House! and, therefore, opposed its being brought up. Upon a division there appeared a great majority against the petition, which, accordingly, was not brought up. Far be it from us (having Six-Acts in our eye) to repeat any part of the sayings of Mr. Spooner; but, we really cannot see that the petitioners could be blamed much for quoting the words of Mr. Spooner. This petition, however, seems to have excited a good deal of anger in some Hon. Members, which appears not to have been the less on account of the petitioners praying for Reform at the same time.

Friday, March 29.—In the Lords there was a conversation respecting the two reduced Lords of the Admiralty, during which Lord Melville observed that, the reduction would cause an addition

of national expense! This was all that transpired worthy of particular notice.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Hume, in a Committee of Supply, made some further attempts to cause reductions in the expenditure; but, without any effect, and we perceive that ten thousand pounds were granted for works at the College of Edinburgh without a single word of opposition from any body! The labourer, let it be perceived, pays a part of this money out of his earnings; and we should be glad to hear some one attempt to explain how he can possibly be benefited by these works.

But the thing of the greatest importance that has occurred in Parliament was the notice given this evening, by Mr. Canning, of his intention to move on the 30th of April, for leave to bring in a Bill to enable Catholic Peers to sit in Parliament! This is so just. It is every way so proper that every one must wish it success, unless he be under the influence of some selfish motive. These Peers are excluded from their seats, only because they adhere to the religion of their and our forefathers. Mr. Plunkett (our readers know who he is) did not seem to be very positive as to whether he should give his support to this measure or not. He has lately joined the Ministry; and he has, heretofore, been an advocate for the claims of the Catholics. There seems to be a great deal of difficulty amongst the parties in this case; what has induced Mr. Canning to bring the measure forward at this time is not for us to presume to say. Probably his being out of office

has afforded him leisure to think of such matters; and if he should remain out of office for any considerable length of time, we should not be surprised if his active mind were to discover other matters to bring forward equally important; that is to say, if the *payment of rents* should give the Right Honourable person time to pursue his valuable researches. At any rate, we most heartily wish him success in his present undertaking, notwithstanding the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge are now publishing and circulating fourteen separate works, endeavouring to show the *damnable*ness of the Catholic Religion.

APRIL 3, 1822.

IN the LORDS nothing took place worthy of particular notice.

IN the COMMONS the subjects were *Mr. Hunt, City Petition, Mail-coach project, Insane Officers' Widows, Sir W. Adams, Unitarians.*

IN the case of Mr. Hunt, Sir Francis Burdett was to have brought forward a motion; but, he at last put it off again to the 24th when there was to be a *coll of the House*. Indeed there appears to have been only about *sixty* Members present, though notice had been given of the worthy Baronet's motion! Sir Francis observed, that "when he *first* considered the subject, he did not, he *confessed*, consider it a case of such importance, of such *enlarged dimensions*, as it now appeared to him, though it had always been a case shocking to human feeling."—He stated, that he had received a communication from Mr. Hunt,

whence it appeared that he was "*still exposed to hardships and severity.*" The Hon. Baronet added, that he had been given to understand, that two of the Visiting Magistrates, Mr. Colston and Mr. Newman had, by their orders, "increased the evils of Mr. Hunt's situation." Petitions were presented, praying for the release of Mr. Hunt, and for Parliamentary Reform, from *Houghton*, from *Coventry*, from *Killingworth*, from *Liverpool*, and from *Stockport*.—We would express a hope that these petitions will be attended to; but we must say, that we have nothing to *found a hope on*. By the apparently *studied absence*, on both sides, we think we can perceive the intention of *both sides* with regard to this matter. We can guess at the view which the Ministers take of the matter, and we think, that, even for their own interests, they take the *wrong* view of it. We would fain hope, that the day of *conciliation* is not *gone by*; but we are sure, that a time is approaching, when present conciliation will be worth a great deal.

The *City Petition*, for reduction of taxes and for reform, was treated in a very cavalier manner by Sir W. Curtis, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Bridges, three out of four of the Members for the City. They denied that it *was* the petition of the Livery, for that out of 14,000, they said only about 300 or 400 were present when the petition was agreed to! Yes, but the rest *might* have been present; and, to what would this doctrine lead? For, of the laws that are passed by the Parliament, are not nine-tenths passed without per-

haps a tenth part of the members of either House having been present at any one stage of them? However, if the Livery of London choose such men as these to represent them, this is, certainly, what they have to expect. We are not to expect *a Reform* from the public spirit of *Corporations*, which stand in need of *so much reforming themselves!* This Corporation of London is by no means an *humble* imitator of the grand THING itself. It reared up Sir John Silvester; which is quite sufficient to *establish its character* for ages. It had also the honour of rearing up Jefferies and the Norths in the reign of Charles the Second. It is, in short a THING, and not a *little* THING, as will be seen, if its *temporalities* should ever be duly looked into.

MAIL-COACH PROJECT. — Mr. Wortley moved for a Committee to inquire into the claims of a Mr. Burgess for having proposed a scheme for an *extra-post*. The Chancellor of the Exchequer backed this motion, *though the project had failed*. The motion was, however, negatived; and, for once, we have a vote to approve of; for, as Mr. Marryat well observed, there could be no end of projects, jobs and squandering, if projectors were to be *indemnified against failure*. Much, however, as we dislike the jobs and the squandering, we dislike *the projects* still more. But, they are the natural offspring of a state of things like the present, which teaches men to look for the means of existence to *contrivance*, rather than to patient labour and study; and a greater curse cannot well afflict a community. A “*situation*,” a something gen-

teel, is what all the world is gaping for. *Work is the Devil* that all appear to shun. But, we repeat, that this is the natural effect of *the system*.

INSANE OFFICERS' WIDOWS. — From what was said by Mr. Buxton and Mr. Vansittart, it appears, that the widows of *insane* officers are to be on a footing, with regard to pensions, with the widows of *wounded* officers. This appears to us something perfectly monstrous. We would go very far in the way of provision for the wives of those who *bleed* in fighting in the King's service. But, is it not to dishonour these, to give to *insanity* what is given to wounds received in battle? Besides, the insanity may be *hereditary*, or it may exist before the party enter the army or navy; and, though always a thing to excite *compassion*, is a *government* to be under the dominion of feelings of this sort, when expending the public money? We recently gave an instance of a sea-officer, who, when on trial for desertion, *pleaded insanity*, and produced a Clergyman of the Church of England to prove that the offender was not perfectly sane *before* he entered the service! If this provision be to take place, let us hope, that measures, and *effectual* measures too, will be adopted, to prevent crack-brained persons from becoming military and naval officers; for, if this provision be made, without such precautions, is it not to be expected, that a mess-room or a ward-room will soon become but a *slightly* sort of place?

SIR W. ADAMS. — A Mr. G. R. Malin complained, in a petition, that Sir W. Adams, the eye-
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doctor, had printed garbled extracts of a Report of the House, and prayed that the petitioner might be permitted to publish other parts of it. But why could not Mr. Malin do as he pleased about the matter, as the other eye-doctor had done? Why petition at all about the matter? The House is well employed, indeed, in adjusting the squabbles between Doctors! But, thus it must be, if it will *meddle with every thing*. The *minute* legislation is an evil of greater magnitude than, at first sight, it would appear to be. It *lets a legislature down*. The cases are rare indeed where even the *executive government* ought to make itself a party with projectors or with professional persons of any sort; how cautious, then, ought a *legislature* to be in such cases! But, the mischief is, *money* is in the question, in some shape or other; and hence the legislature gets involved. Then comes the *government by committees*, which is next to a *government by clubs*. This is amongst the "*arts of sinking*," as applied to governments. We wish that Mr. Bankes could witness the scenes during a session of the *Legislature of Pennsylvania*! We think he would turn sick at the sound of the word *Committee* for the rest of his life.

UNITARIANS.—The Christians, in Constantinople, were disputing about grace and free will, "while "the Turks were thundering at "the gates of the city." We need not add, that the Turks took possession of it. This, however, is no *warning* to us! When it is really a question of life or death to the whole order of things, here is Mr. W. Smith giving notice

about a bill to make alterations about the *scruples* of the *Unitarians*! And so we are to be *amused* with a dispute about "*liberty of conscience*," and on the part of those, too, who really have nothing to complain of. We defy any man to produce an argument in favour of Unitarians that will not apply to *Deists*. All *pluralities* have been removed; all *exclusions*; and what do they want more? Do their priests want some of the *tithes*? If they do, let them *say so*; and then we shall know what to *do for them*! This is the worst of *sects*. They are always fishing after something for themselves. This throws them alternately into the hands of the Government, and makes them *tools* of state policy. When once a man thinks much of his *sect*, he thinks little of his *country*. The sect is his country; and the smaller the sect the more he is wedded to its interests to the exclusion of those of the community; because, to be one out of ten is more than to be one out of a thousand. If the Bill of Mr. Smith could be passed *without any one word of talk about it*, we should not care a straw what it was. It is the *talk*, the *fuss*, the *bother* about it that we dislike so much.

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APRIL 4, 1822.

LAST night the repast was *rich* indeed! The Lords did nothing but receive petitions from farmers and land people; but, in the *other* House, to which we presume not (with Six-Acts in our eye) to affix a *suitable* appellation or epithet; in that *other* House there was matter, some

of which, for reasons it would be unnecessary to state, we lament it did not come forth on Monday last, that is to say, on the first of April; however, it is curious enough, that the *Report* was presented on the strongly marked anniversary!—The subjects were the *Unitarians*, the *Catholics*, and the *Agricultural Report*. The two former we shall quickly dispatch; but the latter will demand what, we fear, may be deemed too heavy a draft on the patience of our readers.

UNITARIANS.—Mr. Smith presented several petitions praying for relief from the laws that affect that body; and he is to propose “a plan” for the purpose! We have a great aversion to plans, and especially when they are about nothing. What relief is wanted in this case, we should be glad to know! There is nothing worth talking about, as connected with any such thing, except the *tithes*; and, we can assure our friends, the *Unitarians*, that, to get rid of these, the way is not to do any thing touching doctrines of religion. If the *Unitarians* be wise enough to be able to judge between the doctrines of the Church and other doctrines, they can need no pastors: for, they are themselves Doctors in Divinity; and, if they be not wise enough to judge in this way, why not jog along as the rest of us do and as their and our fathers did? But, above all things, why, at this time, come bothering in with their petty squabbles with the persons about rites and ceremonies; why make a noise about “relief” from mere fancy-created ills, unless it be to make the word relief ridiculous; or, at

least, to weaken its effect when applied to the real evils which now oppress the country. Let religion be free, say we; but, unless all be freely tolerated, we are decidedly against partial favours to this, that, and the other sect; which, as we before observed, can only tend to cut up and destroy that public spirit, that spirit of reform, which is now becoming general and consolidated. The *Unitarians* are just as good, and no better, than other people. We wish them to be left to believe, or disbelieve, just what they like; but, we do not wish their conceits and crotchets to come and make an uproar about religion at a time like this.

The *Catholics* is a very different case. Mr. Canning took occasion to observe, that his notice for a Bill to enable Catholic Peers to sit in Parliament was positive, for the 30th of April. Here, our readers will observe, are a body of persons, who are kept out of their hereditary rights, not because they have violated any law that was in existence when those rights arose or were first given, but because they have adhered to the religion of their progenitors, which, too, was the religion of the progenitors of us all in this kingdom! It is no new scheme; no crotchet that they want to be indulged in; they want no relief from any restraints as to any thing of a fanciful nature.—They want to sit in the seats which are theirs by right of inheritance; they want their birth-right;—just as the people want theirs; namely, to choose those who sit in their House of Parliament. Whether Mr. Canning will be ready to join the

people, after he has done with the Peers, we pretend not to say; but, at any rate, we will say, that, clear as is the right of the Peers to their seats, it is not clearer than that of the people to the choosing of men to fill theirs.

The Agricultural Report, which Lord Castlereagh was, the night before, so very anxious to screen from discussion until after the *holidays*, could not, our readers will perceive, be kept bottled up so long. It was like the "*new wine*." It bursted forth last night, and produced a discussion by far the most interesting that we have had to notice, during the whole of the Session. It was introduced by Mr. Benett of *Wiltshire*, in presenting a Petition from the owners and occupiers of land in that county. He was followed by Mr. Ellice, who was succeeded by Mr. F. Lewis, Mr. Western, Mr. Ricardo, the Hon. G. Bennet, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Peel; for, as to Mr. Calcraft, who closed the debate, he appears to have said as much on the one side as on the other; so that his speech amounts to nothing. As all the doctrines, all the assertions of those who censured the Report, and who described the fallen and falling state of the country, are merely repetitions of opinions and confirmations of *prophecies* of the pen which is putting this on paper, we should want heart to go over what is become so trite, and so tiresome to our minds.—We can hardly bring ourselves to believe, that it can be necessary again to go over the subject; yet, when we see, as we do now on the table before us, such ig-

norance as is, after all, sent forth through the *Morning Papers*, and especially by the *Old Times*, in the shape of commentary on this very debate, we cannot remain silent; but feel ourselves impelled to put on paper a few words, if it be only to shew that all England is not mad, that the mind of all England is not bemuddled like that of the poor creature who writes the half-novel and half-gossiping stuff to which we have just alluded.—Mr. Ellice took the right view of the subject; no *new* view, to be sure; but to be *right* and *original* on this subject we defy him. He shewed, that the object of the Committee was to *raise the price of corn*; and he said, that, with Peel's Bill in force, *this was impossible*. He stated, that, in 1814, the country Bank notes stamped amounted to *eleven millions*, and in 1821, to only *two and a half millions*! In short, he contended, now in April 1822, for all that the Long Island prophet had contended (in advance and in the way of warning) in July 1818.—He also contended, with that same prophet, that our prices must come down to those of France; and with that prophet he declared, that a *revolution*, more silent but more *effectual*, was going on here now than had ever gone on in France! He contended, that, to return to cash-payments, without *reducing contracts*, was madness; and, did not the prophet so contend in that petition, which he sent from Long Island in the early part of 1818; but which Lord Folkestone did not present, because the House did not like *long* petitions? Faith, we believe "*the*

House "will not be so *nice* soon! We fancy it will find itself blessed with a little more *patience* shortly! "The House not *like*" indeed!"—Mr. Ellice censured the Committee, and very justly, for not going into the *causes* of the distress; and he (as the prophet always has done) ascribed this wholly to *taxation* co-operating with changes in the value of the currency. Mr. Ellice's was a clever speech. It had nothing, and *could* have nothing *original* in it, if it was to be *right*. The prophet has barred up every avenue to originality on any subject of this sort; but it was, nevertheless, clever; and it was valuable because it came so fully to confirm all the predictions of Long Island, and to tell the disciples of the prophet, that they ought to rejoice in their triumph; for that their faith is "the munitions of rocks."—Mr. Frankland Lewis, one of the Committee, defended that celebrated body of men against the censure of Mr. Ellice. He said, that this Committee was only a continuation of the one of last year, and it *last year investigated the causes of the distress!* Indeed! But, the whole country has *laughed* at the last year's Report! And, would it not have been of some use to call a witness or two as to whether there be *any distress in America?* Why did they assert that *without any evidence* at all, when hundreds of witnesses were at hand, Americans as well as English? Why do they still assert it, without producing a single American newspaper that contains a petition on any such subject? This was a thing of the very first importance;—and yet no inquiry, no

desire to get at *proof* about it!—Mr. Western followed next; and he observed, that "the distress was *such as could not have been anticipated.*" No? Was it not anticipated by the Long Island prophet, while he was at plough? Was it not *all* anticipated in detail as well as in gross, a year before Peel's Bill was proposed? Oh! but Mr. Western did not read the "*too long*" petition and the *Letter to Tierney!* More fool he, then; that's all.—This gentleman, after having stated, that further inquiries had confirmed his opinion that *two-thirds* of the Essex farmers are *insolvent*; that the distress of the country would *compel* them "*to rip up*" Peel's Bill; that it was impossible to *go on with it*; that the House would be *compelled* to take that Bill *into consideration*; said, that if no other member would bring the subject forward, *he would!*—Egad! We shall have the *feast of the gridiron*, then! But; Oh! can it be possible! It is one way, indeed, of driving the prophet crazy. We must break his leg, or arm, or make him *really drunk* with wine or gin; or he will be so puffed up to such a bulk that he will burst with vanity. Perhaps it will be better to get Walter and his sisters to "*pink*" him again! However, we must leave this to time, and, for the present, proceed with our debate in the "*Collective.*"—Mr. Ricardo next came, and began by saying, that "it was *impossible* that Peel's Bill could be the "*main cause* of the distress;" and this he attempted to show in just as odd a sort of way as we ever remember to have clapped our eyes on. The whole of his argu-

ment was built on a weak idea of Mr. Western; namely, that the money had been raised in value only 25 per cent. Take that for granted, and Peel's Bill (the Cash-Project) is not the main cause. But, though this is more than four and a half per cent, it is nothing like what the Bill and Bank measures have produced. If the country Bank notes have fallen off in the degree of from eleven to two and a half, this is a little more, we take it than four and a half per cent! Mr. Ricardo could not believe that all rent could be taken away by the taxes, of which *farms only paid a portion!* Good God! Why, this is going upon the notion, that prices are still the same. If a man can pay rent and get a living profit with wheat at ten shillings a bushel, can he do either if it fall to five and the draft of taxes remain the same? The rent and profit are to come out of a certain price with certain taxes; and if the price go and the taxes remain, how can there be rent or profit? It makes one itch all over; it makes one rub one's shoulders, and almost jump about the room, at hearing this, and at hearing it put forth in the form of serious argument. We must say, however, that we are inclined to augur the return of common sense from the reception of this speech of Mr. Ricardo, which was attended with none of those *strange cheers* that we had our ears shocked by in 1819, during the sittings of the famous Parliament that passed *Peel's Bill*, and *Six-Acts*; two inflictions equally memorable, but precisely opposite as to their objects. Mr. Gray Bennet came next; and, after insist-

ing, that *taxation* was the cause of the distress; after observing, that, if taxation were not reduced, the country would soon be brought to the state of India, where the *Zemindars* finding their property unproductive, gave it up altogether to the Government; after observing this, which, we think, we have heard observed by some one before; after saying that he knew a family whose rental was reduced from 6,000*l.* to 1,200*l.* by Peel's Bill; after saying (and very reasonably) that he wished the taxes raised for the Sinking Fund to be repealed, the plan of which fund was a "*complete imposture*," fabricated by that "*great juggler Pitt*;" after this, in which we perfectly agree with him, the same having been said by the ploughing prophet, any time during these last 20 years; after all this, for which we thank Mr. Bennet, because we know that it will and must produce an excellent effect; after all this, he said something in which we do not so entirely concur with him; namely, that the *Landlords* ought to make a *compromise* with the *Fundholders*. There are other parties besides the Landlords. All the *industrious classes* have as much to do with the matter as the Landlords have. Let the *people* at large choose a House of Commons, and that House will settle the matter amicably, and without such a House this never can be done. Lord Castlereagh (Oh; now you shall see what you shall see! as the showmen say) followed Mr. Bennet, and began by deprecating a premature discussion of what was, "*hereafter to be so fully discussed.*" He then expressed his as-

tenishment at Mr. Bennet's talk of a "compromise." He talked of the "delusion," the "great deal" of delusion that had been scattered through the country upon "these subjects," and implored members, implored Honourable Members to "go home to the country with their minds free from the gloomy apprehensions, the gloomy pictures and prognostics, of Mr. Bennet; and with a resolution to impress on the minds of their constituents, that our CIRCUMSTANCES WERE IMPROVING !!!" Aye: "the education of the country" is to go off by the coach, outside or inside, with a "resolution" to make the "farces" of the country believe, that a poor-house is the most comfortable place in the world! Faith it is too late. The "FARMER'S FRIEND" and the "FARMER'S WIFE'S FRIEND" are gone off before "the education of the country" can have got to the coach-offices; and, the education may, for any thing it can do against these, remain and pass its time at Boodle's or where else it likes.

APRIL 18, 1822.

LAST night the House of Commons met, and at breaking up adjourned till to-morrow. There were three topics stated, that of *Licencing Public-Houses*, that of the *Catholic Peers*, and that of *Unitarian Marriages*, the last of which we deem wholly unworthy of occupying any portion of the time of our readers, beyond what is necessary to hear us remark, that, as Mr. W. Smith, the head of this Church, says, that all he asks for, is, that the *Unitarians* may be placed on "the same

footing with the *Jews* and the "*Quakers*," we have no objection to the measure! "The more the merrier," they say; and, at any rate, there cannot be much mischief in adding one more Act of Parliament to the fifty enormous volumes of Acts that already exist. The other two topics are of a different character.

The *Licencing of Public-Houses* was brought forward in a petition from *Maidenhead*, which ascribed part of the Agricultural Distress to the present Licencing system; as thus: that a *market was wanted for barley*; and that this arose, in part, from the brewers *not making use of malt*, in the making of beer; and that the brewers were enabled to force their beer down the throats of the people by the monopoly that the Licencing system gave them. This is a little too *ingenious*. It savours rather too much of the twist which most mad people have; namely, that of tracing all effects to some favourite cause. But, it is true enough, that the Licencing System does give the brewers a monopoly; and that they use it to the great oppression of the common people.—Sir Robert Wilson having observed, that "it would be desirable that no licences should be granted to houses owned by brewers," Mr. Bennet answered, that there was a *million of money* embarked in *Brewers' Houses*, which sum would be endangered by such a decision. But, what answer is this to the complaint of the public? What answer is it? A very good reason for the brewers to corrupt and to bribe, and do all manner of things to keep the monopoly in their possession; but no answer to the

complaints of the people. What! are the proofs of the magnitude of the evil to be produced as arguments against putting an end to it? We should have been glad to hear Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Hobhouse (the son of Mr. Whitbread's partner); we should have been glad to hear "*Whitbread and Co.'s Entire*" firm upon this subject. Oh, no; they are for reform though; and, if they will only get us that, we will forgive them for their silence with regard to this monopoly. Mr. Brougham imputed in some degree, the evils of the licencing system to the *good motives* of the Magistrates? Indeed! Our lot, then, is somewhat like that of the ragged player, Zapara, in Gil Blas, who was miserable only because his wife was *too virtuous*! Come, come, Mr. Brougham; be frank and bold. Have no fears of the THING; for we are much deceived, if the THING will ever suffer you to rise, as long as it has power to keep you down. Speak of the THING as it merits; say what you *dare* say of it, and what we dare not say; describe this Licencing and these Licences as they ought to be described, and as no one can describe better than you. Tell it out boldly; tell the whole story; and get credit for once with the honest part of mankind. It is all nonsense to talk about giving the Licence to *the person* and not to *the house*. It is given to the person now, in form; and, in short, is it not well known to every creature in the country, that the Licencing is, at once, a fiscal and a *political engine*? Is it not notorious, that licences are given, or refused, on grounds merely

political? Is it not notorious, that publicans dare not take in *certain publications*? Is it not as notorious as the sun at noonday, that the *Courier*, the *New Times*, and many other newspapers are as much *forced* upon the people as the stuff called the Brewer's Beer is? On, no! There is no remedy for this evil as long as the publicans are, absolutely dependent for their licences on the pleasure of persons appointed by the Ministry. As long as this is the case, there must be, as far as public-houses are concerned, a monopoly of the supply of beer, spirits and politics. And, though we may complain, we cannot but be *amused* at seeing the harmony, which in this respect, exists between "*WHITBREAD and Co.'s entire*" firm and that of *CASTLE-REAGH and Co.*! Reform of Parliament, indeed! As if the *Quacky* and *Treacle* patriots could possibly entertain the thought! Let us be amused; but let us not be humbugged!

The *Catholic Peers' case* is one of great curiosity as well as of deep interest. Mr. Canning, our readers will remember, has given notice, that on the 30th of April, he shall move for leave to bring in a Bill to restore these Noblemen to the enjoyment of their *birth-right*; that is to say, to their seats in the House of Lords. We have before observed, that this proposition has our cordial approbation as being a *part*, though a small one, of what is due to the Catholics. The only ground of the exclusion of these Peers, is, that they adhere to the faith of their and our forefathers! Yet, there is, we see, to be a STIR made against this proposition.

The twin Devils of spiritual pride and bigotry are to be conjured up, we see, against it; though, as we trust these Devils will be defeated now; we are sure they will in the long run; we are also sure, that all attempts to conjure up the old cry of "*No popery*," will now fail of success.—The resistance to Mr. Canning's motion was begun last night, *even before the making of his motion!* "Mr. Secretary Peel presented a petition from "*the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr*," against the Bill, of which notice had been given, for the Admission of Catholic Peers into Parliament; and he now gave notice, that the *sense of the House* would be taken on the *first proposition*, whether a motion for going into a Committee, or for leave to bring in a Bill, by which it might be attempted to introduce that measure to the House!" So! Here is open war declared between these two leaders of the faithful! It was well enough to get the first petition from a *Scotch Synod*. The next may come, perhaps, from the *Methodist Conference*. Then may a joint one from the *Jews, Quakers and Unitarians*. And, when the *Oxford* one comes, we do hope and trust, that the *Carlileites*, though not much given to praying, will beg to be permitted to join in the *Oxford prayer* against the Pope!—Sir Thomas Lethbridge "was glad that such a "*Petition had been presented*," and he was *astonished* that as soon as the motion had been announced, *the whole country had not petitioned against it*. "If the proposed motion were to be carried, the whole of the "*Catholic Question would be*

"carried by a side wind." Why bless your head, Sir Thomas! do you think that you will ever see that *relief to agriculture*, that you talk so much about, till after the Catholics shall be freed from *paying tithes* to those who *protest* against their faith! Do you expect ever to see any thing again in Ireland but a sort of civil war, till the English Hierarchy in that country be put an end to by law? If you do, we lament your want of knowledge on the subject. Oh, no! Sir Thomas you will see no "*whole country* petitioning against the measure." You will see no more delusion practised under the guise of a solicitude for the *safety of the Church*. The cry of "*the Church being in danger*" will not again excite alarm, we can assure you. "*Tithes being in danger*;" Parson *Hay's* living being "*in danger*;" Doctor *Colston's* (of Ilchester) living; doctor *England's* (of Dorchester) living: these being "*in danger*" will not, we most confidently assure you, excite any alarm amongst the people of England, even if the things *were in danger*; and, be you assured, that there are no people so foolish now-a-days, as to think that the Church *religion* can be in more danger from Catholic Peers than from Unitarian Peers and Members of the other House. It is, however, right, that this case should be fairly and fully laid before the people; and this, in a very elaborate manner, will be done next week; so that the public may be duly prepared for the discussion.—Under other circumstances we should look upon the whole of this thing as a *tub to the whale*. But, under the present circumstances we cannot look

upon it in that light. Where the act is good, and where bad motive is not obvious, we do not like to be very prying as to the motive. But, it is *curious*, at least, to see Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel pitted thus, dead against each other. The *parsons* will *oppose*; they must *oppose*; and they must come *scorched* out of the discussion. The country is in an excellent temper to attend to a statement of what it has *gained* by changing a Catholic Clergy for a Protestant Clergy; for all this must come into the discussion; because the great ground of opposition to the measure will be, that the Church of England, and, of course, the English Church parsons, and the Glebe Lands and the *Tithes*, are IN DANGER! This must be the ground of the opposition to Mr. Canning's Bill. No other ground can be taken; and, we shall see, who there is in the kingdom, the *Parsons excepted*, to petition against a measure, because that measure may possibly *endanger tithes*!—An Irish Correspondent says, that Mr. Canning was encouraged to give notice of his motion by Mr. Cobbett's twelfth and last *Sermon*, on "*Parsons and tithes*;" in which *Sermon* the rights of the Catholics are placed in a very forcible light.—This opinion of our correspondent may possibly be correct; but, we must confess, that we ascribe Mr. Canning's notice to different causes. There has been a talk about *India*: but, we have not yet brought ourselves to believe, that Mr. Canning has been able to bring himself to submit to this species of voluntary banishment. He must well know, that, if he quit the *grand theatre* now,

he quits it *for ever*. No question in our minds, he wished for the very post now filled by Mr. Peel. The language of Mr. Peel; the announced resolution of meeting the proposition in the *very first stage*, shows how the parties feel towards each other. The Grenvilles, Mr. Canning knows, will be placed in a strange state. The whole body of *Parsons*, he knows, will come under review, and will be placed in opposition to nine-tenths of the people. In short, his Bill will be a bomb-shell thrown into the midst of a group that thought they had got rid of him and had made all safe, and were sitting themselves down to snug and comfortable enjoyment!—One thing only the people have to guard against; and that is, not to be, by this strife, *drawn too much off* from the great question of Reform of Parliament.

APRIL 19, 1822.

THERE was little done in the Houses last night. The *Loans* seem to have merely gone through some *forms*; and, in the other branch of the Collective Wisdom of the Nation there was on foot one of those concerns which often come out to afford us instruction and amusement; we mean "a ballot for an Election Committee!"

This important business being over, another came on of much about the same stamp; a proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the appointment of a *Committee* to consider of the best means of *simplifying the public accounts*! There's for you! The keeper of the accounts comes, at the end of twenty years, to ask those for whom he keeps them, and to whom he presents them,

to show him how to keep them! This Committee was agreed to, of course; for there are always people enough who want to sit at some rate or other; to have authority, or the name of authority, of some sort or other. But, of what use is this new mode of putting down the millions and hundred of millions to be? What good is it to do the country? If we were not sure that the system must speedily come to an end, we should feel uneasy at this simplification, recollecting how many improvements of this sort the grand exhibitor, Pitt, introduced; and now seeing the result of all his improvements! The only way of simplifying the national accounts is, we believe, that which was adopted by a sensible Publican in Surrey, who, being compelled to go from home for a week or two and to leave a couple of young daughters in care of the house, found, on his return, the back of a large door covered with the chalks recording the great extent of the commerce, confidence and credit of the period of his absence. After a great many inquiries of who or what was meant by this chalk and that chalk; and, upon finding that the far greater part of the contents of his hogsheads had been drunk by the young fellows of the village; after hearing the explanations of the girls till he was tired, the father called for the mop! This was the only rational way of going to work; and we beg leave to suggest an imitation of it to our Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, if there be others as well as Mr. Maberley, who can find any comfort, any prospect of good, in a Committee such as

that which is here talked of, we can have no objection to their enjoying themselves with the thing. It really can, now, do no harm; because the people understand all about the matter.

From what passed afterwards, it would appear, that there is before the Collective a Bill for mending what is called "*the Seditious Meetings Bill*." This is the first we have heard of this; and really what can it be. Is it intended to prevent farmers talking about reform at their market-dinners? We must look to this! It is pretty evident to us, however, that this is not the sort of Bills that are wanted at this time. The farmers are taking, in most parts, pretty effectual measures to obtain redress for themselves, or, at least an exemption from complete ruin. This is very "*seditions*" in them to be sure; but, some hard-biting laws must be passed, and a stoutish army must be kept employed to enforce them, in order to prevent the main body of farmers from taking care of themselves. Sedition or not sedition, they seem resolved not to go into the workhouses; or, at least, such of them as have any money left. The state of the land-owners and occupiers is truly curious to behold. Light has gone forth and has penetrated even into the heads of farmers. They see their danger; and they seem resolved, at last, to save a remnant of their property. The landlords and parsons have been taking away their capital for several years past. The farmers see this now. Some see it too late; but their fate only makes others the more resolute and active. Tenants at will are getting

out as fast as they can, in spite of all the cajolery about *reducing rents*.—*Notices to quit*, upon the plan of Mr. Webbe Hall, are become very numerous, in some parts of the country. Many tenants are quitting, and many have already quitted, *the kingdom*, in order to avoid the effects of their *leases*. The *American States* will be the great receivers of the English capital, skill, and industry, thus *banished* by the paper and Six-Act system. The collective wisdom made a great mistake in 1819: it made a law to *banish Radicals*; but, not a Radical goes, while crowds of the "*loyal*;" crowds of those "*peaceable and loyal subjects*," for "*whose sake*," Six Acts were passed, are going off into *banishment*! Curious result! Signal instance of retributive justice! The same Collective; the very same body of men, who passed a law to *banish* any one that should write or publish any thing *tending* to bring them into *contempt*; that identical body of Legislators passed a law, the effect of which has been, is, and must continue to be, to banish the *loyal*, to banish the *yeomanry cavalry*, to banish the *radical-hating farmers*, together with their *capital*, to seek shelter in a *radical country*! The banishments of this sort are very numerous. We know of from forty to fifty *capital yeomen*, who are now actually preparing to take the *Atlantic leap*. In short, it is, with thousands and thousands, this choice, the life of *gentlemen* in America, or that of *paupers* in England. A few thousands; only two thousand; nay, *one thousand pounds*, is a decent fortune. The bare interest without any risk, would be

300 dollars a-year; and any but a shiftless family may live decently upon that. Lay it out upon a farm of 100 to 150 acres, an old settled farm, with good buildings and all ready. Why, the family can *live* on the farm. Is not this better than an English *poor-house*? And, mind, this is the only alternative.—Cobbett's Register of to-morrow will contain the particulars of a "*banishment*" of the sort we are here speaking of. This is a very striking instance of the effect of the Collective's measures. Here is a father, mother, two grown-up sons, and three grown-up daughters; and, if the father had not *escaped from his lease*, *escaped from his landlord*, *escaped from the laws of the Six-Act Parliament*, the whole of the family, brought up not to expect to labour hard, *must have become common labourers* in the fields, and, occasionally, *paupers*! But, a prudent, sensible, spirited father has saved his family. *He* himself moved off to America *last summer*, after having (in the *four first years of fourteen*) sunk *four thousand pounds*. The family have sold off every thing, settled with the landlord up to Lady Day; and now they are going to join the head of the family, who has the money that he *must have lost* upon the farm. We shall suppose such a family to take out three or four thousand pounds. At this time about 12 or 13 per cent. is *added* by the exchange. So that one thousand pounds will be better, perhaps, than five thousand dollars. To know what a farmer can do with dollars in America, the *prices of land* should be looked at in "*Cobbett's Year's*

Residence." But since that was written prices have fallen. Perhaps a particular case will be of use to our readers. In the township of Flushing, in Long Island, and between Hampstead Plains and Little Neck, there was, in 1819, a farm to be sold belonging to a Mr. Dureau. This farm consisted of 200 acres, 37 of which were fine woods, 10 of orchard, the rest arable. The spot as pretty as possible; the land good; a mile from the New York Turnpike-road, and about two miles from the landing of the water-carriage to the same city. Buildings very good; the house a good and even genteel house. Fences all good. Land clean and in good condition. Bore in 1819 some very fine Swedish turnips. This farm the owner offered, with all its appurtenances, and with the seeds and fall grain in the ground, *for eight thousand dollars.* With present prices, it would hardly fetch more than *five thousand*; that is to say, one thousand pounds; with a certainty that a tax-gatherer will never show his hideous face on the premises. Let any farmer, who desires to escape a poor-house, take this paper in his hand, carry it to Mr. John Tredwell, of Salisbury-place, twenty miles from New York, on the Jerico Turnpike-road, and there he will find all that is stated here to be true; and will, besides, get all the information and advice that he can possibly want. We are no advocates for *emigration*; we think it folly for men to go away *now*, when some change *must* take place in a few years; but when flight, instant flight, is the *only* refuge from the *poor-house*; that

is quite another matter. We lament to see capital, industry, skill virtue, valour leaving the shores of England to go and augment the riches and power of a rival; but, we lament still more to see decent families dropping, one after another into the poor-house; while the swarms of tax and tithe-eaters are in danger of suffocation from their fatness. The argument is this, and it is conclusive with every man who has a family to take off, and who, if he remain, is bound to his ruin by lease: There will be a *change* almost instantly, or there *will not*. If there *be not*, I am in the poor-house if I remain: *if there be*, I can *come back*. If the change take place, I can return *in safety*; if it do not, I can *never wish to return at all!*

APRIL 23, 1822.

LAST night, in the COMMONS, half a dozen *long speeches* on the state of Ireland, in consequence of a motion of Sir John Newport, which motion had *no object* and was set aside without a division; this occupied the greater part of the time of the sitting. There was a petition, presented by Mr. Hart Davis, from *Bristol*, against the *Catholics*; that is to say, in fact, for upholding *tithes* on the potatoes of the poor Irish. This is the real point at issue. We expended a pretty many millions, with the hearty good will of our parsons, to replace the Pope in his Chair; and, therefore, those parsons cannot much dislike the *Catholic religion*; but, if that religion were uppermost in Ireland, or, rather, not kept down under foot, there could be no pretence

for demanding tithes by the Protestant Priests. Let people be on their guard, therefore, and bear in mind, that, to petition *against* the Catholic Claims, is to petition for the *everlasting endurance of tithes*, in this country as well as in Ireland. And this, assuredly, is what very few people mean.

Mr. Western gave notice, that he should bring forward, *on or about the 2d of May*, his motion relative to Peel's Bill. In the meanwhile he has published (at Mr. Ridgway's in Piccadilly) another *Address to the Landowners*, exhorting them to come forward and *save their estates*. This pamphlet goes into the *thick* of the matter. It proposes, as to debt and salaries and pay, what was proposed by the Reformers on Portsdown-hill in 1817, when the *Yeomanry Cavalry* were drawn out to watch them. It goes further. It proposes what was proposed in Mr. Cobbett's Petition, of 1818, which Lord Folkstone thought too long to present, and which will be *republished next Saturday*. In short, it appears, that Mr. Western now sees the whole matter as he ought to have seen it long ago; and that he only *wants the manliness to acknowledge to whom he owes his understanding*. However, there will be plenty of time and of opportunities to speak of these matters.

That stupid paper, the *Old Times*, which seldom ventures to touch on such subjects, but has generally the prudence to hold its tongue when any subject requiring understanding is agitated; even this foolish Old Thing has come out now in opposition to Mr. Western, whose intended mo-

tion it calls a *hobby-horse*! It has got in its head that jumble of ideas, which is seen in the heads of the Ministers, and which is producing so much mischief; or, at least, which is preventing any thing like a real remedy being adopted.

APRIL 25, 1822.

The LORDS appear to have gone through some forms, merely; but, our "*representatives*" were very busy last night. They had before them the following subjects:—the *Licencing System*; the *Leather Tax*; "*Theodore Hook, Esq.*" (as it stands in the *Morning Chronicle*); that pretty thing called *Ex-lents in Aid System*; incidentally, *Country Bank-notes*; and the affair of Mr. Hunt.—We have time to-day to notice only the two latter; but shall revert to the others to-morrow perhaps.

COUNTRY BANK-NOTES. — It came out in consequence of a question asked by Mr. Calcraft, that that famous "*representative*" of our's, whose name is Vansittart, has a proposition to make next week about these same country bank-notes! The devil he has! why, were we not told that cash-payments were come? Were we not told that we had got back to the ancient standard of value? We certainly were told this; and what in all the world, then, can this "*representative*" of our's have to propose about country rags? Reader, just attend for one moment. It was unlawful to issue any thing in the shape of a bank note under five pounds before the year 1797. It then became necessary to authorize the issuing of small notes. Acts of

Parliament was passed for that purpose. But, it being resolved, the "Wisdom of Parliament" having decided, that we should return to the ancient standard of the country: it was enacted, that *no one pound notes should be issued after two years from the first of next month*. This, to be sure, was right enough: for while those rags were circulating, and especially while small notes can be tendered legally, what a pretty farce it must be, to talk of having returned to the ancient standard of value! But, now behold, Mr. Calcraft asked Mr. Vansittart, whether it were his intention to suffer this law to remain, or to pass another law, to *extend the term for issuing small notes, or, to make the circulation of those notes permanent*! Ah, ha! What, they are coming to it, are they? Well, but what says Mr. Vansittart? This is what he says, that *probably*, he shall, next week, have a *proposition to submit to the House upon that subject*. Bravo! This, you will observe, if it take place; if any extension of the term take place; this is a repeal of Peel's Bill in part. However, we shall say no more upon the subject at present, having said enough, we trust, to induce our readers to keep their eyes steadily fixed on the matter.

Mr. HUNT.—Sir Francis Burdett moved, in the following words, "That an Address be presented to His Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to remit the remainder of Mr. Hunt's punishment."—After a long debate, the House divided. It appears that there were no less than three hundred and seven of our "Representa-

tatives" present out of the six hundred and fifty-eight; and that eighty-four voted for the motion, and two hundred and twenty-three against it; so that the motion was lost by a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine. The result is by no means such as will surprise any body that knows any thing at all about this House. We, for our parts, never thought that it was worth while to bring the motion forward; which, indeed, appears to have been the opinion of the prisoner himself. Nevertheless, we by no means question the goodness of the motive in bringing it forward. We have not room to enter at all into the merits of the case, nor is it necessary; for these merits are perfectly well known to every man in the kingdom. It is well known what Mr. Hunt was imprisoned for; what were the motives for imprisoning him; what were the expectations as to the effect of the imprisonment; what were the hopes and views of the punishers; and every man in the kingdom also well knows what has been the conduct of the judges, of the sheriffs, of the magistrates, of the gaolers, and of all the parties concerned from the beginning to the end. The debate, therefore, is of no sort of interest, except as presenting certain declarations or doctrines that are made or held by our "Representatives;" and from which we may be able to judge a little of what their present views and hopes are, not only as to this particular matter, but as to other matters which must be much more interesting to Mr. Hunt himself, than the question whether he be to be enlarged to-

morrow, or in the month of September. Two good observations were made by Sir Francis Burdett; one was that the doctrine that because Magistrates served *without pay* they were *therefore* to be treated with tenderness, which is an extremely dangerous doctrine. To be sure, this humbug has been kept up long enough. It is high time it were exploded, and the Baronet did his best to put it in its proper light. The other observation was, that the system of Howard, "intended for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, had been the cause of most monstrous cruelty." Never was a truer observation than this. Those, in general, who have been praters about prison-discipline, have been monsters that merited extermination. This "humane system" has been the cover for more implacable malice, more cold-blooded cruelty and villany than ever was practised by all the despots on earth put together. We state as a fact, that under this humane system a man was actually left, to starve to death, and to be gnawed to pieces by rats, in the cell, in that pink of all humane gaols, the gaol of Philadelphia, under the inspection of those gentle and humane souls the *Quakers*, and that the neglectful or cruel ruffians who were guilty of this crime were never brought to justice; while the excellence of this prison discipline in Philadelphia was lauded to the skies all the world over, and while the gaol was still shown to foreigners travelling in the country, as one of the great institutions of which the country had to boast! In short, Howard may have been a good man; that

may be; but, he must have been a dotard not to see the consequences that would inevitably arise from a system of solitary confinement. Of all the horrors of the Inquisition, the *cells* presented the greatest; the out-of-sight cruelties it always must be that are most to be dreaded. Whipping and splitting of noses and hanging and chopping off of heads, and ripping out guts and burning, give us the benefit of indignation and rage against the savage perpetrators, when the punishment is unjust: but we have no such benefit in the case of solitary confinement. There the base, cowardly, and bloody villain has ample space for the indulgence of his hellish propensities; and, as in the case at Philadelphia, the monster may pass for a saint all the while.

Sir Francis's grounds for his motion were these. *First*, that the original sentence on Mr. Hunt was severe: *Second*, that it had, by the conduct of those who had the carrying of it into execution, been rendered more severe than the Judges intended. *Third*, that Mr. Hunt was entitled to the consideration of the House, in consequence of his bringing to light the abuses in the prison. The third reason we think much too feeble sort of a thing to be brought forward in support of such a motion. It is setting up *services* as a sort of claim to mitigation of punishment; it is holding these services up as a sort of atonement; and, the value of being at liberty five months earlier was not worth such a compromise. The second ground is very bad indeed; for we do not believe, that either Mr. Hunt or any man

in this kingdom has the smallest idea that *Mr. Hunt has suffered more than the Judges intended that he should suffer*. What Mr. Dawson said as to this point was perfectly unanswerable. He sent an affidavit to the Court; and the answer of the Court was, to make him pay the cost of the proceedings. We dislike exceedingly this ground; because it tends to take entirely away all ground of complaint on the part of Mr. Hunt; and we think we can venture to say, that he will never pretend to believe that he has suffered more than it was intended he should suffer by those who sent him to the gaol of Ilchester for two years and a half. If the motion were to be brought forward at all, the first ground, that is to say, the *severity of the sentence*, was the only ground. Not the only ground of complaint on the part of Mr. Hunt; but the only ground for a motion such as that with which Sir Francis Burdett concluded. — Mr. Dawson, who followed Sir Francis, fell foul, as the sailors call it, of Mrs. Vince; and imputed all the ill-treatment, or rather, in his view of the matter, the complaint of ill-treatment, to the circumstance of that lady having been excluded. Perhaps this might be the origin of the complaints; and if it were, we see nothing very unreasonable in it; and we would ask Mr. Dawson whether, if all men were to be bound up to these tight lines, there are not numbers that would feel the inconvenience of them. There are men in the world, who not only live with other men's wives while their own wives are alive; but who hunt their own wives like wild

beasts at the same time; and yet, to canvass the conduct of such men, to narrate the simple facts of their conduct, is deemed criminal, and there are not wanting pious persons to deem it blasphemy also. We do not think, however, that this part of Mr. Dawson's speech was very successfully rebutted either by Sir F. Burdett or Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. Hobhouse admitted (which was perfectly gratuitous) that Mr. Hunt's connexion with Mrs. Vince was *scandalous*. He was not called upon to do this. There was no proof of the scandal before him. For any thing that he knew to the contrary, the connexion might have been of a nature perfectly platonic. And, though Sir Francis did say "that there was no use whatever for introducing the name of that lady," we may observe that there was much more reason for it, than there was for introducing the name of that lady by Cleary, at the request and instigation of Sir Francis's own Rump on the hustings of Covent Garden; and that, too, be it remembered, through the means of a private letter of a third party, no wise engaged in the dispute, which private letter was got from Wright, who was formerly the servant of that third party. — Did Sir Francis disapprove of that introduction of Mrs. Vince's name, when it was avowedly at the time, and since proved on oath, introduced for the express purpose of *serving him in his election*; did he disapprove of it? It was in silence, if he did; for, he not only put upon the white charger to ride before him the man who had read the letter at the hustings; but, when Mr.

Hunt himself afterwards reproached the reader of that letter at a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor, Sir Francis defended the reproached party! Upon this subject, therefore, he should have been silent now; for, though we think that of Mr. Dawson's conduct which we dare not say, and which we are sure is unnecessary to say; still, no man can deny that he had better reason for introducing the name here, than the creatures of Sir Francis had for introducing it at the hustings. As to what Mr. Dawson said about Mr. Hunt's being the founder of a new school of rebels and blasphemers; and as to his notion about the country having been tranquillized by the imprisonment of Mr. Hunt; these only show how little he knows of the matter; and how incorrectly he reasons, too, unless he supposes that Mr. Hunt is never to come out of the gaol alive; for, can he imagine that the school will be lessened in its numbers, or have its zeal diminished by the rejection of the motion of Sir Francis?—Mr. Peel's was a speech calculated to give us no very high opinion of the figure he is destined to make in the world. It was violent; it was hot; it was heavy. There was no ingenuity; no point. The Right Honourable Secretary seems to have excited a laugh; that to have excited his anger; and that anger to have excited another laugh. His talk about the peace of the country; about allegiance; about due subordination; about sapping the constitution; about infamous designs; about swindling them out of their privileges, was wholly out of place. It comes at a time

when the taste for it is entirely gone. The minds that such matter used to imprint itself upon are totally changed; and he will see, if he live till Mr. Hunt comes out of that prison, that he knows, at this moment, much less about England than any Secretary of State ought to know about even a foreign country. As to the law; as to the usages of Parliament; as to the distinction set up between this case and that of old Lopez, it may do very well for talk; it may do very well in the way of speech; but, is there any man in England who does not see the true reason for keeping Mr. Hunt in gaol, and also the true reason for letting Lopez out of gaol? Is there any man incapable of estimating the conduct of the two? Do we not all know what Lopez had done? Do we not all know that he had been guilty of bribery and corruption with regard to seats in Parliament; and do we not all know that Mr. Hunt's offence consisted in being the Chairman of a Meeting held for the purpose of producing such a Reform as should put an end to bribery and corruption with regard to seats in Parliament? Is there a man of us who is ignorant of any part of this? And, not being ignorant of this, what care any of us for the quibbling distinctions between the grounds of application to the King for release!—We shall conclude our remarks on this subject for the present, with observing on the care which the supporters of the motion took to disclaim Mr. Hunt personally, and also to disclaim his political principles. Mr. Hobhouse observed that he “had no reason to regard Mr. Hunt

"with personal favour, and considered him merely in his public conduct in the investigation of abuses;" that is, he considered him as a Reformer of *gods* and not as a Reformer of the House. Mr. Buxton would not consider the question "with reference to the character of Mr. Hunt." Sir J. Mackintosh, who laid most manfully on upon the Secretary of State, went, however, still farther than the rest in his disclaimer of the principles of Mr. Hunt, and of Mr. Hunt himself. He allowed him, indeed, to be an *Englishman* (and that, Sir James, is something); but, he said, that he disapproved of his politics; and he did not arraign the verdict of the Jury, nor dispute the sentence of the Judge; taking occasion to add, in another part of his speech, that the Judges were "the pride of their country and the admiration of the world." We are not informed whether this created a laugh in doors; but this "admiration of the world;" this pompous phrase; this ridiculous and absurd hyperbole; never now, as far as our observation goes, makes its appearance in the presence of any rational persons, without those demonstrations, which, upon the present occasion, Sir James might deem it indecorous in us to describe. But there was a new phrase came out last night. The defenders of Mr. Hunt, talked of his unpopularity in the House. We never before heard of popularity or unpopularity in that place. We have heard a great deal there of the contempt of popularity: and one thing we think we can assure the Honourable House, which is, that Mr. Hunt

would be very sorry indeed to exchange popularity out of the House for popularity in the House. We do not happen to know one single creature that has the smallest desire to possess any popularity in that House. We have not troubled ourselves to ascertain the reason of this; but as to the fact, we are positive. We will add one word on the reason of Mr. Dickenson for voting against the motion. He said, if he thought it would be for the advantage of the country that Mr. Hunt should be *enlarged* tomorrow, no man would be more disposed than himself to vote for the motion.—But being convinced of the *contrary*, he felt himself bound to oppose it. What, then, does he think the country will be *injured* by Mr. Hunt's coming out of prison? Does he think that that will cause less rents to be paid than are paid now? Does he think that it will make agricultural distress more acute? Mr. Hunt can be kept in gaol but five months longer at most; and will the injury to the country arrive at the end of that five months? We really should not be surprised if there were some men capable of supposing that the circumstance of Mr. Hunt's entering London just at this time, would really make an addition to the thickness of the mess. If Mr. Dickenson will listen to our advice, he will use all the means in his power to dissipate that mess by a Reform of the Parliament, which amongst other things will answer this purpose; namely, to remove from Mr. Dickenson's mind, all alarms as to the proceedings of Mr. Hunt. This, too, is the way for Mr. Dawson to as-

sist in putting an end to what he calls the school of rebels and blasphemers; and if this way be not pursued, all that we can say is, that the consequences will rest with Mr. Dickenson, Mr. Dawson, and all those and the like of all those that have opposed this motion for the release of Mr. Hunt. We think it right not to quit the subject without observing that Sir Francis Burdett performed his task with great ability; unquestionably from good motives; and that his only error consisted in not taking the strong ground of severity of sentence of which every thing subsequent was the natural consequence.

APRIL 26, 1822.

THERE was a little thing, just dropped out in the House of Commons, of a vast deal more importance than the subject of Parliamentary Reform, as that subject has been treated of by Lord John Russell.—We allude to what was said about the Breakfast Powder. That profound Statesman, Sir Robert Wilson, asked some questions relative to penalties imposed upon persons for selling this powder. Lushington, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, said, that the Treasury had determined (mark the words) “to issue licences for the selling of this powder!!!” Soh! And this brought no observation from Sir Robert Wilson, it seems! Here is the roasted wheat and rye, and the flour made from them, going to be taxed! We laugh at the crazy old thing, and know that it will not have the power; but if it could be what it has been for many years past, we

should not only see the roasted grain and the flour of it well taxed when sold, but we should also see, as in the case of soap and candles, heavy penalties placed upon us, for daring to roast the grain or grind it in our own private houses. This, we can see clearly, will be attempted now. Once let a licence be issued; once let the grain-powder be subjected to a tax, or parliament-permission, of any sort; and it will, as long as this sort of thing last, be prohibited in our houses, except it come from under licence. And we shall not dare to send parcels of it to our relations or friends without “a permit,” as the tax-runners call it.

The Reform Motion, or the thing under that name, brought forward by Lord John Russell, we have not time to notice fully to-day; but shall assuredly do it to-morrow. For the present we shall only make a remark or two as to the manner of the thing. It was not a motion for reform, but about reform; it was not a motion for enacting a reform, but for declaring that the state of the representation required the consideration of the House! What do we care about their consideration of the state of themselves! We know what that state is very well. We know all about “Horace Twiss,” for instance! We know all about this lawyer, who was the first to answer the maker of this motion, who, we have not forgotten, was the person that interfered for Old Lopez of “purity of election” notoriety! We cannot say that we expect much from a reform for which Lopez would vote! For once in our lives (and more than we ever expected)

we agree with Mr. Wynne; that is to say, we want to hear something *specific* and *practical*; and we would ourselves have *opposed* Lord John Russell's motion. Mr. Canning came out, and we will again work his Liverpool pamphlets *to-morrow*. We dismiss the subject to-day for want of time (not having *expected* such a debate,) but we cannot, even for a day, postpone an expression of our pleasure at hearing Lord Folkestone declare for *real reform*! That is *something*! "That's good," as the hunters cry, when they hear the voice of a trusty hound. That's good; that's *sincere*; that's *really meant*; that's *intended to be acted on*; that's worth more than all that we have ever heard before in that House on this subject. To-morrow we shall point out how Lord Folkestone, if joined by another or two as sincere as himself, *might make a reform at once*.

APRIL 27, 1822.

WANT of time compelled us yesterday to shorten our remarks on the *Debate* (if it were worthy of the name) on Lord John Russell's motion the night before, for what he was pleased to call *Parliamentary Reform*.—Of all the motions for Parliamentary Reform that we have ever yet heard of, this seems to have excited the least degree of *interest*. No one appears to have cared any thing at all about it; and yet, when it actually came forth, it proved fully to merit all the disregard that it had received before-hand. Only think of a man's being *five hours* on his legs to persuade the House, that it would be *right for*

it to inquire into the state of the representation! Only think of talking for *hours* on the increase of books, pamphlets, reviews, magazines, newspapers, and give-away tracts; and on that of reading-rooms, book-clubs, Bell's-schools, Lancaster's-schools and such like miserable stuff!—Only think of five hours without one single cogent argument for Reform; without even an attempt to describe the *effects* of the notorious bribery and corruption at elections; without a single remark on the *mercy* of the system towards *Old Lopez*! If Lord John Russell, who appears to have spent a great deal of time to find out the extent of the printing and bookselling trades, and to ascertain the number of Bibles and Tracts that are annually given away; if he had spent a little time in drawing out a statement, showing how *large a part of the taxes* were now actually given to men, or the relations or dependents of men, who have a hand in putting people into Parliament; if he had ascertained the *cost* of the boroughs to the nation; if he had carefully gone over the lists of places, sinecures, pensions, grants, high offices in the army and navy, bishoprics, other high posts in the church, great livings, and taxing offices; if Lord John Russell had gone over all these lists, and had shown how many of the *lucky* gentlemen and ladies were connected with those who owned *burgage tenures*; if he had thus shown how much the boroughs *cost the nation* in this way; if he had then shown how it was the boroughs that *caused the debt*; if he had then shown how it was that the debt and the establish-

ments produced the present *distress*, and would, if not arrested in their progress, produce a *convulsion* in the country; if Lord John had done this, it would have required *something* to answer him. As it was, his speech can produce no impression on the public mind, other than a pretty thorough persuasion, that he himself wants to see no real reform of that House. He had a *plan*, however; and that was to give the people (with what limitations we do not know) *a hundred members*, taken from the boroughs; but, *breaking up no borough!* And, we gather from what Canning said, that Lord John said that *the Reformers had changed their opinions, and did not now wish for Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments!* Indeed! who are these Reformers, Lord John? "Glory" and the Rump of Westminster? I am quite sure, that *nobody else* has changed in this sort of way. If you had taken the pains to ascertain the fact here as accurately as with regard to the extent of the Bible and Tract Associations and their effects, it might have been full as well. We, the Reformers, mean, God willing, that every man, who is compelled, or liable at any time of his life to be compelled, to serve in the Militia; that is to say, to venture his life in defence of the country, shall have a vote in choosing those who are to make laws affecting that life. This is what *we mean*; and, we should be glad to know *who those Reformers are that have changed their opinions* in favour of what you call *moderate Reform*. In answer to a motion and speech like this, it was not necessary to say much: and, it seems, that

nothing at all would have been said, if Lord Folkestone had not called forth Mr. Canning; for, as to what was said by Horace Twiss; whose very name is enough for any reasonable man without the knowledge of his being an *enterprising lawyer*: and as to what was said by Mr. Wynne in defence of the Grenvilles, who are now so *big a mark*; as to these, they amounted to nothing at all: Lord Folkestone's declaration, that he was, after long deliberation on the subject, for a reform, on the basis of *universal suffrage*; required *something* from *somebody*; and as his Lordship had called upon Mr. Canning, the latter rose, and figured away in somewhat his old style; but by no means with his usual boldness; and, it is worth while to observe, that he abstained, this time, from *abusing* the Reformers! from calling them "*a low, degraded crew*;" and from uttering those manacres against them, and hurling that defiance in their teeth, which, upon all former similar occasions he was so ready to do. There was very little that he did say worthy of notice. That little was feeble and whimsical too. Lord John had admitted (it appears) that, if the Parliament had been reformed soon after the *Revolution*, "*they would have undone the Revolution, and unseated the House of Hanover*." Upon Mr. Canning noticing this, there appears to have been a *monstrous cheering!* Oh! It was so cogent! So conclusive, that Reform would have been a *bad thing!* Such a *complete proof* of the excellence of the borough system! What! Villanous Reform, unseat the House of Hanover, and unseat

too all those who had got such immense grants of land and tithes in consequence of the "*glorious Revolution*!" Whatever this argument might be with regard to others, it was, at any rate unanswerable with regard to Lord John. It was, as towards him, quite enough to get it admitted, that a *reformed Parliament* would never have admitted the House of Hanover!—Mr. Canning's grand point was, that the House was not the worse, not less fit for managing the people's affairs well *because it did not do what the people wished*. His assertion was, that, though it acted *against the wishes* of the people; yet, in the end, the people found, that the *House was right*; that it did what was for the best. To support this assertion, he cites some instances; and, the matter is so very curious, that we shall take his own words:

"In the instance of the Revolution the Noble Lord admitted the Parliament might have done wisely in contradicting the temporary expression of its constituents; and there could not be the slightest shadow of doubt, that if the majority of the people were then polled, *they would have been against that revolution*: but the Parliament, acting in its *higher and larger capacity*, decided for the *peoples' interests* against their prejudices. Therefore he argued the House was not defective merely because it *did not instantly respond to the opinions of the public*. In 1810 or 1811, he himself divided in a small minority of 30 to an overwhelming majority on the depreciated currency—the majority then spoke the sense of the country—and though the minority was right, the country was against them. Again, in 1819 he was quite sure, if London and all the other principal towns of the kingdom were polled, when the currency was restored that the

country would have been against that measure. But now that the change had taken place, he hoped it would never again be altered. Under all these circumstances, he could never consider it as a true proposition, that the state of the representation was deficient, because it did not speak the then apparent sense of the people. It would in his opinion be a base and cowardly House which, after duly deliberating, adopted a great public measure, should it be frightened into an acquiescence with the mere temporary excitement which might exist upon that measure. There was another question in illustration of this opinion—a question which he had more at heart than perhaps any other of his political life, he meant the Roman Catholic Question, and upon that, he had not the slightest doubt, ran before the sense of the country, which was now rapidly coming up to them.—(Cries of hear, hear.) He had no doubt that in all their early votes on that most important question, they *had not the country with them*; but he was equally sure the period rapidly advanced, when the country would be convinced the House of Commons acted as they ought to have done.—(Cries of hear.) If then, on three such great questions—questions before which almost all others sunk into insignificance—the House of Commons were either against or ran before the opinions of the country—in such a case the proposition of the Noble Lord was dashed to the ground when he stated the representative system to be imperfect, because it did not give an immediate echo to the wishes of the people."

Let us examine these cases a little.—The Revolution is here taken for granted to have been for the benefit of the people, though it is now acknowledged, that a *great majority of the people were against it*; and, indeed, this is clearly

proved in the fact, that *Dutch troops* were brought into England on the occasion.—There is no *proof* attempted here, that the Revolution was for the *interest of the people*. We know well, that it was for the interest of a great many great families of Whigs; and we could easily trace the beneficial effects down to their descendants. But, all that we are *certain* that the Revolution produced for the people are the *National Debt, Septennial Parliaments, the Excise, the Riot Act*; and divers other things of a similar nature and tendency. Lord John and Mr. Canning agree, of course, that these and the like of them are great *benefits to the people*; and, as it must be allowed, that the people would not have had them, if they could have had their own wishes, we must, *if we think them benefits*, agree with Mr. Canning; that, in this case, the House was *wiser* than the people, and, acting in its “*larger capacity*” did the people *good*, gave them a new dynasty, a Debt, Septennial Parliaments, an Excise and a Riot Act *against their own wishes*. But, those, if there be any, who doubt of the *benefit attending* the Debt, the Septennial Parliaments, the Excise and Riot Act, such persons may also doubt, whether a Reformed Parliament would have been so very *bad a thing*, even at the time of the “*Glorious Revolution*.” The next case is the vote of 1811. The House then voted, that the *paper was not depreciated*. The whole nation knew it was, and said it was, and bought and sold guineas at 29s. And yet Mr. Canning asserts, that the vote (which was *wrong* he allows) *spoke the sense of the peo-*

ple! Why, the people were daily buying and selling the guineas; the people laughed at the vote; and, to prove how false it is to say, that *they* thought the paper not depreciated, the House directly afterwards passed a law to *punish* the people *if they continued to buy and sell guineas* or to pass the paper, in exchange for gold, *at less than its nominal worth!* This shows how the House spoke the sense of the people in this case. The next case is *Peel's Bill*; and, here we are told, that the whole country, if polled, *would have been against the measure*. Well; and was the measure a wise and good one? What can Mr. Canning be dreaming about? Does he really think, that this Bill is to be *pushed quietly* through? Are not half the House itself *frightened* at it at this moment? Does he not hear many of the supporters of it cry out on its ruinous effects? Has it not spread ruin and havoc and bloodshed and fire over a considerable part of the kingdom? He tells us, that the *people were against this Bill*; and that this is a proof, that the House is what it ought to be; or, at least, that it is good, that it should act *against the sense of the people!* This was a very happy illustration, to be sure! There are not two out of twenty of those who were for the Bill, who are not now against it. He should have shown, that the Bill was for the *good of the people*. But, instead of this, he contents himself with saying, that “he *hopes*” the Bill will be *adhered to*, though the very supporters of it are crying out *murder* against its effects. His last case is, the *Catholic Question*; and here he chooses to assume that all that

the House has done for the Catholics has been done *against the wishes of the people*. The contrary is notoriously true. The people have long wanted to see something *real* done for the Catholics. They have wanted to see *tithes* abolished in Ireland. They have wanted to see the *Test Act* wholly put an end to. And all parties of the people are satisfied, that nothing *real* will be done for, the Catholics *without a Reform of the Parliament*. What, then, do these cases make, except against this position of Canning; namely, that it is no *proof of the badness of the House that it does not respond to the wishes of the people*; and that its measures are good though in *opposition to those wishes*?—But, there were more cases, that he might have cited, in which acts were passed in opposition to the wishes of the people. What does he think of the *Bank Restriction Act*, which protected the Bank against paying its notes held by the people, and which the people crowded to get paid? What does he think of the *Corn Bill*, passed in the teeth of thousands of petitions against it, and, at last, with *troops actually drawn up round the House*? What does he think of the votes and acts for the *French war*, to carry which into effect, such terrible acts were passed to keep the people down and make them submit to the carrying on of that war? Were these wise acts? Were these for the *good of the people*? Do these acts show, that it is good that there should be a House of Commons acting independent of the wishes of the people? Does any man believe, that we should have had the present load of debt and taxes, if the

House had spoke the sense of the people? And, is it not the debt and taxes that cause the present distress and almost open commotion? And, is it in such a state of things, that we are to be told, that it is *good*, that the House should *not speak the sense of the people*?—However, such men as Mr. Canning may prate, and Lord John may talk about reviews and tracts, we shall see a *reform*, a *real reform*, before a great while has passed; and shall only *laugh* at what we have now heard on the subject. It is very easy for any one who has boroughs at his command to make a reform of the Parliament. *Professions* will pass for little, unless actions follow. If we had half a dozen boroughs, or seats, we should only have to write to the Reformers of Leeds, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Manchester, Bolton, Birmingham, or other such places, and request them to *name the persons they wish to have in Parliament*! Nothing is so easy, nothing so completely within a borough-holder's power as this. It is merely putting his pen to paper for five minutes; and the *Reform is made*! It would be useless for others to keep their seats after this. Six men, put into the House in this way, would produce an annihilation of the Boroughs in a year! How much better this would be, than long speeches about reviews, newspapers and *tracts*! How much better than long talking about nothing! How much better than poor, meagre motions, which seem to doubt, whether any reform at all be wanted! In short, this is what every borough-holder *has it in his power to do*; and, if he do not do it, we shall give him no

credit for good-will towards the people. His speeches and professions we do not want: he has in his possession the things that we want; and, as long as he keep them, "a fig for his fine words!" Canning's appears to have been a sort of *valedictory* pleading for his old clients, the borough-gentlemen. It was "*the last*" effort, it seems, that he would be able to make for them! What! He is really going then? He thinks, now, we dare say, to come back by-and-by and play a great part! He may be deceived, and, indeed, he is any thing but *deep*, though he thinks he is. His hoping, upon this occasion, that Peel's Bill will *not be repealed* shows what the inside of his head is made of. Let him go; and let "THE HOUSE" cheer him to the last. Our reliance for Reform is on other things than motions like that of Lord John Russell. We have much greater confidence in Sir Thomas Lethbridge's sayings, short as they are: he said (*last night*) "Peel's Bill had added to the weight of the taxes," and he thought that "that Bill should be *rescinded or modified*." His colleague, Mr. Dickenson, who was not for releasing Mr. Hunt, said, "the best land in the county of Somerset yielded no rent, and "that it was impossible that things "could go on in this manner." Very glad to hear the fact, Mr. Dickenson, which we believe to be true; but do not agree at all in your opinion; for, we are quite satisfied, that things can go on, and go on very well too, *without the land yielding any rent*, which is by no means necessary to the existence, or to the happiness, of the community. Rent is only the

surplus of the profits of the land; and, the country may go on very well indeed, without any such surplus. We do not wish to see the landlords all become paupers. But, it really is their *own affair*. If they choose to let the tax-eaters take the landlords' share, the landlords must go without, that is all. They cannot, indeed, prevent this without a *Reform of the Parliament*; but, if we be *not to have Reform*, we shall, at any rate, *see rents cease*, and that, in the absence of reform, will be a great comfort to the people at large. It will *draw the teeth* of their most bitter enemies. A man without rents is so very mild a creature compared with a man with rents! This is our *rock of salvation*! The Debt; the Debt; the blessed Debt, not one farthing of which can be deducted without a Reform of the Parliament! *Reform, or no Rents*. That is the choice; and, really, for the present, it may be best to let the thing work its own way. Motions like that of Lord John Russell do not even *amuse*. Sir Thomas Lethbridge is the man for us.

MAY 1, 1822.

Do our readers fully understand the *beauties* of the projects broached the night before last by our great Castlereagh? The partial repeal of Peel's Bill is clearly enough about to take place; but, the other projects of that memorable night we have not yet remarked on. The million of money out of the taxes, to send food to the *starving Irish*, while another million is to be laid out in *pawns* on food, because it is, just now, *too plenty*; these projects speak for themselves, though

they can add nothing to the fame of the Ministry or to that of an assembly for endeavouring to bring which into *contempt* we might be *banished for life*! But, that other famous project about the *half-pay* and *pensions* of the *army* and *navy*: do our readers understand it clearly? Do they get to the depth of its *collective wisdom*? Do they penetrate what Castlereagh calls "the dense" measures of his Majesty's Government?" The measure is this: to *fund* the *pensions* and the *half-pay*! To get people to *contract* to pay them. To make *them over* to the contractors. To put them out on *farm*, as they do the poor of some parishes. In short, it is a *loan* that the Collective is about to make, to get money to pay the pensions and the half-pay with. This is the fact stark-naked; and there is no doubt of the plan being carried into effect; for it will cause some taxes to be taken off.—Suppose here to be an officer who has half-pay of 100*l.* a-year. It is for his life. The Government *contracts with me*, suppose, to pay this officer; and it pays me, not the 100*l.* a-year at first, but *less*; and, in time, it pays me more than 100*l.* a-year. So that, in the end I *get* by it; but, then, the Government has *less to pay for the present*! This is what Castlereagh calls *dividing* the burthen with *posterity*! Posterity will not, we hope and believe, be fools enough to bear any portion of it. However, the thing is a *loan*; and the *certificates* for the officers' and soldiers' pay and pensions are the *scrip*! What next! What devil's tricks has the borough-system yet to

play? Upon exactly the same ground the King's allowance, that of his family, all the pensions and sinecures, the placemen and judges' salaries, may be *funded*. Paine said, that he should not wonder if Pitt were, at last, "to *fund* the *Bank-notes*," and issue other paper as evidence of the Debt. There is no knowing, as we have often said, what shape the thing will assume at last. We have only to look at the history of the South Sea Bubble to be convinced that the powers of humbug are infinite. We should not at all wonder to see the *tithes funded*! Don't start, parsons. Many things much more unlikely have taken place. A seizure of some sort or other must happen somewhere. To fund the tithes would be a great deal more natural thing than to fund the half-pay and pensions of officers and soldiers. A large sum of money advanced upon the tithes would "divide the burthen with posterity," indeed. However, these hints will be sufficient. Our readers will see what a rich vein our noble political philosopher has struck upon here. This new funding-system may be carried to lengths of which few men are yet aware.

Mr. Canning last night brought forward his motion for restoring the Catholic Peers to their seats in the House of Lords. The House divided upon the question, when there were 249 for the motion, and 244 against it, leaving a majority of five in favour of the motion. If a Bill be brought in, and go through the Commons, it will, to a certainty, not *pass the Lords*. We have not time now to go into what is called the de-

bate; but we may just observe that no man in his senses will vote for such a Bill, unless he mean to abolish the *Protestant hierarchy in Ireland*. We should regard this Bill just as so much nonsense, unless it had that great, and, in our opinion, absolutely necessary measure in view. The question is not at all a question of religion. There is no bigotry at work now. Peel's Bill has driven bigotry out of people's heads. It is a question solely relating to the property; to the immense estates in houses, lands, manors, mines, waters and tithes, which the Protestant hierarchy of Ireland puts into the hands of great Protestant families; and, unless those great Protestant families be prepared to give up those immense estates, it is all miserable nonsense to talk of restoring the Catholic Peers to their rights. We last year agreed with Mr. Bankes; and we now agree with Mr. Wetherell, that if you take one step, you must go the whole length; you must give up those estates of which we have just been speaking. Mr. Bankes and Mr. Wetherell are not for giving up those estates; nor is Mr. Canning nor any of the rest of them, that we know of. Nay, I do not know that they would not almost call it seditious and blasphemous to propose such a thing. They are, therefore, very inconsistent, to say the least of their conduct.—There is no fear of the Bill being passed into a law. Great as the church estates in Ireland are, those that possess them do not want to share them with others; much less do they want to lose them altogether. Put the Catholic Peers into the

House of Lords, and with what show of justice can you exclude the Catholic gentlemen from the House of Commons? Make these legislators, privy councillors, judges and chancellors; and then what justice will there be in keeping the churches for the owls and bats to inhabit, while the Catholic clergy are saying mass to their congregations under the shelter of a hedge or of a hovel? Let the Catholic clergy into the churches and what justice will there be in giving the parsonage-houses, the glebes, and the tithes to a Protestant priesthood? Give the tithes to the Catholic clergy, and what justice will there be in maintaining those *grants* by which the estates of the Catholics in general were given to the Protestants? At any rate, to talk of Catholic emancipation, is a gross absurdity, or an impudent imposture, unless you mean totally to abolish, as far as it regards its temporalities, the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland; we should suppose it most likely, that, not a thought of this kind ever once entered into the heads of any of the Catholic *emancipators*, a word which is descriptive of all that is burlesque and ridiculous. There are at this time, it is asserted, more than a million of poor wretches upon the point of starvation in Ireland. Brought into this wretched state by a system which beggars all description, how are they to be relieved; how are they to be *emancipated* by the putting of a few rich men into the Houses of Parliament, into the Privy Council and on the Bench? Take from them the terrible *tithe-factors*, and you do something; but you do nothing

unless you do this; and, therefore, this grand exhibition of speech-making amounts to just nothing at all; and it can serve not even to afford amusement to any man of sound understanding, while it cannot fail to be offensive to every one who really wishes well to the oppressed and wretched people of Ireland.

MAY 2, 1822.

WE have often observed, that, in proportion to the smallness of the number of our "*Representatives*" present, the matter that transpires is important. Last night there was some talk which, on more accounts than one, we think of great interest; and shall, therefore, offer some remarks on it to our readers. — The topics were, *Parliamentary Reform*; *Mr. Ricardo's Doctrines*; *Repeal of Taxes*; and the famous *Pension-funding project*.

That of *Reform* was brought forward by Mr. James, Member for Carlisle, in presenting a petition from a body of the inhabitants of that city. Mr. James insisted, as he truly might, that all the distresses of the country, all its calamities and dangers, arose from the want of a due representation of the people in that House. He declared his conviction, that it was necessary that the reform should extend to *Universal Suffrage*; and, this he placed on the best possible ground; namely, that "as every man was liable to be called upon to *risk his life* "in the defence of property," it was just that he should have "a right to vote in the appointment of those who framed laws affecting property and life."

They laughed, it seems, on the Treasury Benches, when Mr. James made a declaration in favour of *Universal Suffrage*! They will not laugh by-and-by! They will not laugh, when there remain neither *rents* nor *tithes*; and, mind, to preserve *either* of these, there must be some measures of a *decided assignat* character, unless there be a reform of the Parliament; for, reduce *establishments much*, and reduce *debt at all*, they cannot without a *reform*! The landlords and parsons have, therefore, to choose out of these three; *Reform*; *Assignats*; or *loss of rents and tithes*; and we would defy the Devil himself, if he were Premier, to prevent *one of the three*. We would recommend the first; but, really, it is much more, now, the affair of the landlords and parsons than it is that of any body else.—We cannot quit this topic, without just noticing the *high authority* that great spouter, Canning, quoted the other night against the breaking up of rotten boroughs. He made a monstrous show of it. He said he would not tell who the authority was till he had stated the doctrine; and, after a long preparation of this sort, out it came: "no other; no less an authority," said he, "than Junius himself." — What an empty; what a contemptible piece of bombast! To quote an anonymous scribbler; as corrupt a knave, perhaps, as ever sacked public money; a writer, who, to be damned instantly only needed to have given his name; a hooker-together of antitheses; the writer of a long book without any one sound principle, except by accident; and without as much

useful knowledge in the whole book as is equal in amount to what any ploughboy can give you respecting the best mode of killing rats and mice. A writer that never was praised by any man of sense, except from mere fashion and from carelessness; a writer that owes his reputation to the sort of mystery that hangs about the book: a foundation for reputation just as good as that of the ghost of Cock-lane, and not one whit better. The matter of the book is bad; the style affected and every way vicious. There is nothing in the book that enlightens the mind or warms the heart. Strings of coolly-framed sentences; and, which is a great vice with us, antithesises without end; and, in general, without point. This book has been praised by that *quoterie* of men calling themselves the *learned*; men who solemnly decided that the writings of Will. Ireland could have come from no other pen than that of Shakespeare. A book, in short, containing nothing but impertinent malignity; and praised by nobody but solemn fools. And this is the *great authority* that our nabob in the shell holds up to us as a sufficient answer to the petitions of millions of the people! We are not, I take it, to be answered in this way; and if Mr. Canning does not discover this before he gets to India; he will very soon afterwards.

Mr. Ricardo's *doctrines*.—Mr. James took occasion to observe, that these doctrines had proved to be wholly false; and (see the report in another part of our paper) he said, if Mr. Ricardo would but read a *little pamphlet or two* of Mr. Cobbett, he would find, that

he knew nothing at all of the matter; and, he added, as an inducement for Mr. Ricardo to enter on this course of instruction, that the pamphlets were *extraordinarily cheap*. The Honourable Collective Wisdom appear to have laughed very heartily at this; a laugh not altogether unequivocal. Some were sure laughed at "*the Oracle*;" but the greater part, perhaps, were in the mood of *Sir Fretful Plagiary*, in the Critic, when he joins in the *hôte*-laugh, but shows, all the while, that he is most cursedly mortified. — Referring our readers to the speech of Mr. James, we will now take notice of what Mr. Ricardo appears to have said in his *defence*. Mr. James had said that Mr. Ricardo had at one time asserted that Peel's Bill would have the effect of reducing prices only *three* per cent. and that since he had acknowledged that it had reduced prices *ten* per cent. The defendant did not *deny*; nor did he attempt to say that Mr. Cobbett had not refuted all his doctrines. But he appears simply to have said—"I ask the Honourable Gentleman *when* it was that I talked of this *three* and this *ten* per cent?" Now, let us observe that this was by no means that species of defence which we should have expected from an oracle. Oracles are famous for being bold; and, never attempt (that we have heard of) the Quaker-like tactics of answering one question by another. Mr. James does not, doubtless, carry the Parliamentary debates about in his pocket; and might very well have replied to Mr. Ricardo by asking him what he would think of a lady, who, in answer

to a charge of a nature too indelicate to be named when we have any so pure as the Honourable House before us, what he would think of the lady, who, in her defence should say, "Tell me the hour and the spot!" What, in such a case as this would it be to the party accusing, whether the fragrant clover or the nodding corn had been the sufferer? And what is it to this humbugged nation whether the oracle uttered its gusts on the Monday or the Friday; whether it held the Saturday or the Sunday sacred, whereon to cease from its labours? What is it to this deluded nation whether these erroneous doctrines were uttered six weeks sooner or six weeks later? We have not the precise dates before us at this moment; but we venture to state (and we will give the detail tomorrow) that Mr. Ricardo has asserted, that Peel's Bill could not raise the value of money compared with that of produce more than, in the first place 5 or 6 per cent.; in the next place $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; at one time (but we forget precisely the order) not more than 3 per cent., and, lastly, not more than 10 per cent. To ask Mr. James questions, therefore, as to the *when*, was giving him no answer at all. The charge of that gentleman was perfectly well founded; nor was it by any means uncalled for; because, upon these very doctrines of Mr. Ricardo, this terrible Bill of Peel was founded; and upon these very doctrines it is, that it is now contended, that the *taking off of taxes will not relieve the distresses of the country*. It was necessary, therefore, for Mr. James, if he meant to speak sense, and to

cause sense to prevail amongst others, to attack these delusive and humbugging doctrines; proceeding, as Mr. James truly observed, from Mr. Ricardo's *complete ignorance of the whole matter*. To prove this complete ignorance, there were not two or three of Mr. Cobbett's pamphlets necessary. It did not need the "*Long Island Prophecies*;" nor did it need any thing but the first of the three letters which were addressed to Lord Liverpool a few weeks ago; which were first published in this paper; and afterwards published in the *Register* of the 9th March. In that letter it was proved to the satisfaction of every man of sense, not that Mr. Ricardo's doctrines were false in degree; not that that gentleman had fallen into an error of calculation or computation; not that there was an error in the *figures*; but that there was an error in the mind; and that the basis of the opinion was a perfect vision; a thing having no more to do with the matter than the crows that make their nests in the elm-trees at the foot of the monument have to do with the supporting of that monument. This is what that letter shows. As Mr. James said, it is very cheap. It costs only Sixpence; and if a man will be a fool all his life rather than expend what a Jew-boy gains by the sale of eight pennyworth of oranges, he merits to be laughed at, to be sure; only, it is pretty serious work when his folly is to cause the ruin and the starvation of no inconsiderable part of the people of a great country.

REDUCING TAXES. — There seems to be a great strife between the leather-tax and the

salt-tax, which (or one of which) will doubtless be taken off in consequence of the *funding* of the pensions and half-pay. Whatever tax be taken off, it ought to be *wholly* taken off; for if any part remain, all the tax-gatherers remain; and all the frauds, perjuries, rascalities and expenses of the tax still remain. It is more advantageous to the country to take off the whole of a tax to the amount of a million, than a part of a tax to the amount of a million and a half. In selecting taxes to be taken off, the most expensive in the collection; the most odious in themselves; the most teasing and tantalizing; the most degrading and insulting should be fixed on. There is quite enough of all these qualities belonging to the salt-tax; but, besides this, it has two characteristics, which render it peculiarly detestable. The first of these is, that it is of the nature of a *poll-tax*. Salt, is perfectly a necessary of life.—It is not like beer, wine, spirits, tobacco, pepper, almost any thing else that is taxed. It is not even like soap and candles. Means may be found to do with a very small portion of these. But we must have salt; and the labourer must have as much of it as the lord. It is, as we said before, of the nature of a poll-tax, and, where was there a poll-tax ever heard of in the world without exciting feelings hostile to the government?—The other peculiarity of the salt-tax is, that it intercepts a real gift of God. It is a thing not created by the labour of man. It is a pure gift of nature. The various uses of salt in agriculture are very well known. In America they salt their

hay as they put it in the stack. They give their horses, sheep and cattle of all descriptions salt; and they make use of it in the creating of manure; though they have first carried it across the sea, and that, too, from this very island; whose Government interposes between God and the people here, and whose unwise laws do in fact, say to the people, “For the sake of our getting a million and a half from you we will do you an injury to the amount of many millions.” We know very well that it is said, and we know the fact to be so, indeed, that the Government, in order to obviate this injury, will permit salt to be used, tax free, for certain purposes of agricultural manufacture. But, look at all the endless vexations necessary to be endured by individuals in order to avail themselves of this exception! In short, and this the Government knows very well, these exceptions, though undoubtedly well meant, operate in favour of, and are made use of by, none but great manufacturers; and that many of them make use of it for the villanous purpose of robbing the rest of the community, by the means of the bribery and other artifices that they employ. It is perfectly unbearable; the very thought is enough to drive people to madness, that we should be obliged to pay *twenty shillings* for a certain parcel of that very matter which nature casts upon our own shores, and that that same parcel of matter, shall be first bought here, put on board of ship, carried to America, and sold out of the shop there for *less than half-a-crown*! It was the salt-tax that, more than any other thing,

produced the French Revolution. The recollection of it produced more bitterness, and more vindictive acts than any other of the oppressions of the French people. It is a thing that touches every creature. It is galling beyond description, and if the Government have one grain of sense left, they will cast the accursed thing from them, and have one claim, at least, to the thanks of the country. But if they take any, let them take off the whole of the tax; to take off a part, leaves all the odiousness of the tax, and, in fact, only tends to increase the irritation.

FUNDING OF PENSIONS AND HALF-PAY.—We explained this thing very fully yesterday. And should not have mentioned it now, had not Mr. Brougham made what we deem a little too free with our property. We have a particular regard for the "rights of property," notwithstanding Mr. Wodehouse has chosen to assert the contrary of us. We mean, upon this occasion to claim *our own*. We shall first give Mr. Brougham's speech, as we find it reported; and when we have done that, we shall put it to the candour of our readers, whether the learned gentleman have, or have not, made a little too free with our property upon this occasion.

"Mr. Brougham entirely concurred in that suggestion, and begged to ask the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he would extend his plan to the *whole of the national debt*?—(Hear, hear).—Having taken one leaf out of the Right Honourable Gentleman's book, the country could not do better than take another. And now it occurred to him, there were many expenses of the

Government to which so admirable a system might clearly be made applicable. There was the *Civil List*.

—(Hear, hear); the *Pension List*—(Hear, hear); those *charges were annuities dependent upon lives*. What could be better than to *farm the pensioners off at once*?—(Hear, and laughter).—Nay, *Ministers themselves might be provided for upon the same principle*.—(Hear, hear). Their tenure for place was almost equal to tenure for life.—(Laughter).—Whatever might be the goodness of their holding, it seemed at least tolerably secure; and he (Mr. Brougham) doubted not to find *contractors for the Ministers as well as for the half-pay officers*.—(Hear, and laughter).—He really was bound to press the measure upon the consideration of the Right Honourable Gentleman; a discovery so important ought not to be neglected. Nor were the powers of the measure confined even to the *salaries of Ministers*; for the *whole royal family might be farmed out* in the same way, to the relief of the present generation (which much wanted such relief), and at the expense of a trifling burden *only upon our happy posterity*.—(Cheers and laughter).

Thus far Mr. Brougham. Our readers will, we are sure, excuse us for producing proof that this property belongs to ourselves, and, to produce such proof, we have only to insert here a passage from our Parliamentary commentary of yesterday.

"The measure is this: to *fund the pensions and the half-pay*! To get people to contract to pay them. To make them over to the contractors. To put them out on *farm*, as they do the poor of some parishes. In short, it is a *loan* that the Collective is about to make, to get money to pay the pensions and the half-pay with. This is the

fact stark-naked : and there is no doubt of the plan being carried into effect ; for, it will cause some taxes to be taken off. Suppose here to be an officer who has half-pay of 100*l.* a-year. It is for his life. The Government *contracts with me*, suppose, to pay this officer ; and it pays me, not the 100*l.* a-year at first, but *less* ; and, in time, it pays me more than 100*l.* a-year. So that, in the end I get by it ; but, then, the Government has *less to pay for the present* ; this is what Castlereagh calls *dividing the burdens with posterity* ! Posterity will not, we hope and believe, be fools enough to bear any portion of it. However, the thing is a loan ; and the certificates for the officers' and soldiers' pay and pensions are the scrip ! What next ? What devil's tricks has the borough-system yet to play ? Upon exactly the same ground the *King's allowance*, that of *his family*, *all the pensions and sinecures*, the *placements and judges' salaries* may be funded. Paine said, that he should not wonder if Pitt were, at last, to 'fund the Bank-notes,' and issue other paper as evidence of the Debt. There is no knowing, as we have often said, what shape the thing will assume at last. We have only to look at the history of the South-Sea Bubble, to be convinced that the powers of humbug are infinite. We should not at all wonder to see the *tithes funded* ! Don't start, parsons. Many things much more unlikely have taken place. A seizure of some sort or other must happen somewhere. To fund the tithes would be a great deal more natural thing than to fund the half-pay and pensions of officers and soldiers. A large sum of money advanced upon the tithes would 'divide the burden with posterity,' indeed. However, these hints will be sufficient. Our readers will see what a rich vein our noble political philosopher has struck upon here. This new funding sys-

tem may be carried to lengths of which few men are yet aware."

We by no means find fault with Mr. Brougham for availing himself of what he found here. There only wanted just a hint that he was indebted for it to an *Evening Paper of that day*. There wanted no distinct acknowledgments, no expressions of gratitude, or praises, for fear Mr. Wodehouse should be at him ; but just a hint that the thought had struck somebody before. The thought did not strike Mr. Brougham when he was answering Lord Castlereagh who broached the project ; and, therefore, we say, in the most unqualified manner, that he owed the thought entirely to us, and that it was due to us, strictly speaking, that he should mention our paper by name, seeing that his speech was so very literal a copy of it. Perhaps, however, he thought that the House, the tasteful, the all-accomplished House, the at once profound and sprightly House, to endeavour to bring which into contempt is to be punished with banishment for life ; perhaps he thought, that a body of persons of such elegant taste would not have been so entertained, and would not have bestowed on his wit so much cheering and so much laughter, if it had discovered, like the audience of the Spanish mountebank, mentioned in Gil Blas, that the squeak came from the knee of the cloak, and did not originate with the operator himself.—We said yesterday that this new funding project would be received with great approbation ; and, in a few hours after we wrote the words, the opinion was made good ; for, whatever might be

said about the ridiculousness of the thing (and a good deal was said); whatever exposure might take place as to the humbug of borrowing money to pay pensions and half-pay, in order to keep sacred the Sinking Fund; whatever might be said about this, and extremely well exposed it was by Mr. Maberly; still all agreed to the project; seeing that the object was, in the humbug language of the day, *to throw the burden forward upon posterity*. God Almighty only knows what we are to see take place before this thing be over; but, at any rate, the main part of the weight will soon settle itself down safe upon the shoulders of the landlords and the parsons, and we will endeavour, if Mr. Brougham will but promise to lend us his assistance, to keep the rest of the community in a fit of laughter from one end of a Session of Parliament to the other. Like pigeons, which the Yankees catch with large nets, these projects, the first having come down to us, will come tumbling one after another, till we shall find ourselves at last up to head and ears, and fairly smothered by the subjects of our sport. Readers! remember, that we now give it as our decided opinion, that the Ministers will at last propose, *to fund the funds!* We desire this prediction to be remembered; and if Mr. Wodehouse cannot see how the funds can be funded, we can.

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MAY 3, 1822.

We shall reserve till Monday our remarks on a most interesting conversation, which arose relative to the effect of Peel's Bill on

prices. Mr. Brougham and Mr. Western said some things too good to be passed over without full notice. We shall notice this conversation when we have some room, in our paper on Monday; and shall particularly advert to what Mr. Ricardo said in justification of his opinions about the value of money. Mr. Brougham's speech was a perfect jewel. It was a little thing that one might frame and glaze. Our readers shall have our exhibition of its beauties on Monday. But, really, Mr. Ricardo must give up! He would act wisely in doing it at once. He must be baited to eternity, if he do not yield with a good grace.

The Branch-bank and everlasting Legal-tender scheme came up incidentally. We had yesterday to observe, in a second edition of our paper, that, at the meeting of the Threadneedle-street, or Borough Bank-proprietors, the fact came out, that the Directors had made a bargain with the Government to be made able to issue one pound notes after May 1823; which is a repeal of Peel's Bill in another respect. Last night, in the Collective, the fact was fully corroborated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and President of Bible Societies, who said, he must state, that "he was now called upon to make provision for the circulation of the country by the issue of country bank-notes!" Called upon! Who had called upon him? Peel's Bill calls upon him for precisely the contrary. "He felt a great difficulty in proposing the continuance of the circulation of one pound notes!" And well he might after the House, the

"wisdom of Parliament;" the "uncompromising spirit of Parliament;" had resolved *unanimously*; and enacted, that gold should be the circulating medium of the country; or, at any rate, that no more one pound notes should be made; for, observe, that was one of the things that Peel's Bill abolished! Thus is the whole of the Bill to go away like a joint in an eating shop, cut after cut! And, we are, if possible, to be juggled back into the old Pitt-system of paper again, in spite of all the grand offerings of praise at the shrine of *St. Horner*; and, in spite of Mr. Ricardo having, in so many words, asserted, that he "could not imagine any thing EASIER than to return to cash payments!" N. B.—The iron, for making the *Gridiron*, has been presented to Mr. Cobbett. The *smiths* are getting to work; and that immortal crest of victory will be placed aloft, at No. 183, Fleet-street, the very day after the Bill shall pass; we mean the new one-pound note and everlasting Legal-tender Bill, which will repeal Peel's Bill as to one of its most important parts; because it will put a stop to the right to demand cash-payments in May 1823. It is clear, that it is meant to chip the whole of the Bill away by degrees; but here is a *positive repeal of a part*, and an essential part of it. The *Gridiron*, hung with *laurels*, will, therefore, be hoisted on the day after that of the passing of the Legal-tender Bill. When the *feast* is to be held has not yet been fixed on. Due notices will be given of that; but Mr. C. requests that the Disciples will keep their boots and horses ready for the journey.

The *Double-jointed Post-master General* got broke asunder last night! Lord Normanby renewed his motion for an Address to the King to do away with one half of the political gemini, and, thereby, save the amount of half the salary. The motion was carried by 216 against 201, leaving Castle-reagh and Co. in a minority by 15! Holme Sumner! Aye, Holme Sumner, the *landlord of farmer Nash*. Holme Sumner stood manfully by the Company! His reasons do not appear very clear to us; but, they seem to have been quite satisfactory to himself. He had observed, "that previously to the session, and during this session, that county meetings had been held professedly to take into consideration the distress of the country, though a very few of them the professed object of the meeting had been gone into; that persons were travelling over the country to excite disaffection; and that the sentiments of these persons had been put into instructions to Representatives. Something like the system pursued at these meetings seem to be followed in the House. Motions were made for repealing this and that, apparently to reduce the Revenue to inefficiency, and the same sort of attack was made on the institutions of the country."

Now, what persons were travelling about the country? We never heard of but one; and what had his dining with farmers to do with the *Joint Post-master-General*? His sentiments were put into instructions to Members. Indeed! But, is it not reasonable to suppose, then, that his sentiments

were pretty correct? We do believe, with Mr. Sumner, that that person's travels had great effect; but, had that person not a right to travel? Holme Sumner saw that person only in his own native county; and the Devil's in it, if he had not a right to be there at any rate! Holme Sumner will, we are told, be likely to hear a great deal more of that person in Surrey before many months be over his head.—Castlereagh seems to have tried hard; but, he was manifestly out of spirits. He appears to have toiled without hope. He called the former a "manly vote;" he talked of "constitutional fears;" of leaving the thing to a Commission, acting on their oaths! He invoked the House to "reject clamour;" and protested against this second motion, as non-submission "to the deliberate wisdom of Parliament." All would not do! He felt that it would not. He visibly went on under an oppression of spirits: he saw that the wind and waves were against him; and, like the sailors of Cymon, "from the first he laboured in despair."—Mr. Wilberforce (awful omen!) seems to have given the great political philosopher the *coup-de-grace*. His words were not less strikingly true and apt than their effect is likely to be important. He "expressed his surprise that His Majesty's Government should have avowed that the retention of the present office was necessary for the purpose of augmenting the influence of the Crown. The influence of the Crown meant, in fact, something which would be called by a much coarser name in places where plainer language was used,

than was usually employed in that House.—There could be no doubt that offices were given to gentlemen to secure their support of the Government on all occasions, whether right or wrong.—(Hear, hear!)—The sentiments of the Right Hon. President of the Board of Control (Mr. Wynne) had totally changed with the side of the House on which he had been accustomed to vote, and from that change of sentiments, it was for the House to judge whether he had accepted office, because he agreed with Government, or whether he agreed with Government men because he had accepted office.—(Hear, hear!)—He should support the motion, because he felt it to be peculiarly incumbent upon the House, in the present times, to be careful of its character, and to endeavour, by all just and honourable means, to secure the respect and affection of the people.—There! Let the Company, and let the Grenville's get over that, if they can!

MAY 4, 1822.

A MESSAGE from the King, last night, announced that he "had been attended with the Address of the House" about the Post-Master; that he would order the salary to be discontinued forthwith, and that he would abolish the office as soon as he had "the opportunity of considering of an arrangement for the conduct of the business of the office." Never was King "attended with" such language as this before! This Lord Castlereagh really does not seem to be capable of putting one

single sentence upon paper without committing some grammatical error. Never did chambermaid married to her master use phrases of such ridiculous affectation as those which this man puts into the mouth of the King.—As to “the *conduct* of the business of the office,” there will be time enough given for that, so that the *salary* be but *abated immediately*, which, it seems, is to be done. Trifling as the *amount* is, in this case, the *defeat* of Castle-reagh and Co. is *great*, and will be severely felt. It is but a feather plucked from the carcass; but, others may follow it; the pluck loosens all the rest; and, without the feathers, the carcass cannot long live. It is, however, folly to proceed in this way, *unless a reform be intended*; for, these places are absolutely necessary to *get the present system along*. It is unjust; it is foolishness; it is madness, to expect the Ministers to carry on the present system without places, pensions, sinecures, grants, and all the things that they now have and make use of.

The *Funding of the Pensions and Half-pay* came on last night. Our readers already understand the project. Mr. Hume proposed, that *the nation* (through the humbug Fund Commissioners) should be the *contractors*! To be sure; for why not employ what they call the Sinking Fund in this way, by *name*? But, good God! What humbug; what juggling; what stuff it is altogether! Some *taxes* are, however, to *come off*, in consequence of this new sort of loan. That is the main thing; and this has been agreed on by the Ministers, because they had

found out, that the landlords were *resolved to have another pluck at the taxes* before they separated.

MAY 7, 1832.

IN THE LORDS, Lord Grey put off his motion on the State of the Country, until it was seen what would be done in the other House in the way of reducing taxes. His Lordship gave a sketch of the absurd projects now on foot. In speaking of the projects about the Bank and Bank-notes, he observed, that he could not conceive the existence of any motive for pressing these projects forward at this moment, unless that of giving a fallacious relief to the distress of the country by the *violation of Peel's Bill*!—In answer to this Lord Liverpool said not one word. A vast deal of poor, miserable beating about the bush; no justification for the extraordinary haste of which Lord Grey had complained, and not one single breath in answer to this supposition respecting *Peel's Bill*. This is to be borne in mind; for of all the projects on foot this is by far the most important.

The licencing system was again brought forward by Mr. Huskisson, who presented a petition, containing facts so scandalous as really to shock any one who hears them. We have not room here to make a lengthened commentary upon the subject; but we trust that this question of licencing will soon be brought forward in a regular form. Mr. Bennett said what was very true, namely, that every individual ought to be allowed to sell beer, as every one was allowed to sell bread. There certainly is no other effectual

remedy in the present state of things. Mr. Monck said, that a physician at Bath had declared that most of the complaints prevalent in that town were attributable to bad beer. It seems impossible that this crying abuse can go on much longer. It is only comparatively of late years that the *parsons have become magistrates* all over the country; and we recollect the opinion of a *Dean* upon this subject. We have a right to conclude that the far greater part of his brethren agree with him; at any rate the evil has increased in an enormous degree.

The *Pawn-broking system* was brought forward by Lord Castlereagh. Our readers recollect that this system or project was to advance a million of money upon corn to be deposited in pawn. The corn was just like any other thing that is pledged to have the money advanced upon it. The money thus advanced was to be two-thirds in amount of the value of the corn; and the money to be paid back again with interest at three per cent. whenever the corn should be taken out of pawn. Now, observe, the *Ministers were to appoint* persons to value the corn! Here would have been pretty scenes going on! It is as clear as day-light that this would have been a scene of jobbing the most barefaced that ever was heard of. It is equally clear that the *farmers* could have derived no benefit from a scheme like this. We find that Mr. Irving was one of the inventors of the plan; and we know that Mr. Irving is a London merchant. We find also, Mr. T. Wilson to be the most strenuous advocate for

the plan. Mr. T. Wilson is a *London merchant* also. Mr. T. Wilson said that this scheme would give the farmer a *fair remunerating price for his produce*; and he said, what was still more wonderful, namely: that it would be a *relief to the lower classes*! So that, to raise the price of the corn now in hand would be to do good to the lower classes, as he called them! By lower classes we presume that Mr. Wilson means the dealers, jobbers, contractors and other fellows engaged in buying up corn; for a *lower class*; a more villanous class; a more roguish class, let them be *relations* of whom they may, is not to be found in this kingdom. Oh! no! Mr. Wilson, we acknowledge no class to be lower than this; and we see clearly enough that it is this class that would get the whole of the million of public money into their hands. Mr. Wilson has found out, too, "that the chances are in favour of the next crop being a *bad one*." Mr. Wilson is very singular in his opinion. The opinion is in fact false and foolish; and if the crop be a good one, one-half of the money thus advanced to corn-dealers would never be repaid; and as to the allowing of those corn-dealers to *grind* the foreign corn, it is, in fact, to allow them to sell it in England directly.—The *landed* people appear to have perceived the trick before it was too late. Mr. Curwen stuck to the project, and so did Sir Edward Knatchbull: but it was soon perceived that the general feeling was evidently against the motion; and Lord Castlereagh began to perceive that he should be deserted even by those who had proposed

the measure. Mr. Wodehouse, the famous Norfolk member, said, that "he hoped his reasons for intruding himself upon the notice of the House would appear a sufficient justification. He did not wish to leave the Noble Lord in the lurch. He had supported in the Committee the proposal for advancing half a million. The proposition, however, came a little too late. He was astonished that any one should suppose that the greater part of the evil fell upon the little farmers, as it was really the farmers of this description who always paid their rents with the greatest ease."

This seems to have stung Lord Castlereagh, who answered thus: "He rose at that moment, for the sake of complimenting the Honourable Member for Norfolk (Mr. Wodehouse), upon his condescension in promising to vote for that which after all was really his own motion,—for the great kindness which he had shown in not leaving him (the Marquis of Londonderry) in the lurch. He paid much deference to this generosity [a laugh]. But the fact was, that he had really no merit whatever in the proposing of that scheme. He had merely brought it forward as having been adopted by the majority of the Committee. He had given his reasons on the subject on a former occasion; and he thought he could not now better requite the kindness of the Honourable Member than to put the saddle on the right horse. The fact was, that the proposal was no production of his, although it had thus been given to him, and

"although its real parents had looked coldly upon it. He thought he could not do better than return the compliment, and he tipped the Honourable Member of the Committee, who really was the father of the scheme, would not despise or disavow his progeny.—He had no very fond hopes of the extent to which this measure would relieve the Agriculturists—he had no paternal feelings for the measure itself; and if the Honourable Member by whom it was originally proposed, together with that majority of the Committee by whom it had been supported, would not now raise their voices in its behalf; then he would not divide the House upon it, but leave it to that fate to which it seemed to be abandoned." This was paying off the country gentlemen in their own coin. He accordingly moved that his own resolution should be withdrawn! It was withdrawn accordingly.—And there ends the pawn-broking project!—The grinding project, about which Mr. T. Wilson seems so anxious, will come on to-night; and assuredly with no better success. The landlords have been fools enough for a long time; but they are now a little too much enlightened to be made believe by Mr. Wilson that the grinding of foreign flour in English mills will tend to give the English farmer a remunerating price.

MAY 8, 1822.

LAST night Lord Castlereagh brought forward his resolution relative to the Importation Regulations.—Sir Thomas Leth-

bridge proposed a different resolution. Neither of them were decided upon, but the Chairman reported progress with leave for the Committee to sit again. The whole of the thing, as brought forward by Lord Castlereagh, was such as to induce Sir Francis Burdett to observe, and justly to observe, that it was impossible for any body to tell whether his Lordship were in jest or in earnest. It was the old story as contained in the last Agricultural Report. But, in the course of the evening, there were some sensible matter brought forth. Mr. Attwood, Sir Thomas Lethbridge, and Sir Francis Burdett, spoke to the real question before the country; namely, whether Peel's Bill were to be repealed or not; and all the three insisted that it was impossible that the fundholder could be paid, unless some alteration was made with respect either to the *currency* or the *taxes*. Mr. Attwood most ably exposed the absurdity of the Ricardo doctrine; showed how monstrous it was to choose gold as the standard; when corn or produce in general ought to have been the standard. Mr. Attwood said that the whole property of the landlords must in time be exhausted by taxation and fall into the hands of the public creditor; and he concluded by saying, that it was a shameful delusion to pretend, that, with a metallic currency, the farmer could go on paying the same taxes that he paid in a paper currency. Mr. Ricardo endeavoured to parry this thrust. He puzzled himself, as he had puzzled himself before by confounding the value of the paper as compared with gold in

the market, and the value of that same paper as compared with articles of consumption. This gentleman seems incapable of understanding the distinction even now. He seems incapable of getting rid of his original error, that error which has led to all the present difficulties. Sir Thomas Lethbridge took the side of Mr. Attwood, and said that it was impossible that the public creditor should go on receiving his dividends in hard money. He called upon Mr. Peel to *retrace his steps*; that is to say, to recant his recantation. He said, "The tail of the Right Hon. Secretary's Bill must be cut off. It was impossible to go through with it, and the proposition of the Noble Lord opposite, with regard to Country Banks, proved that the Government were convinced of the impossibility of pushing this measure to extremities." Sir Francis Burdett said, that there was no reason why faith should be better kept with the public creditor than with the *public itself*; and that the House ought to bear this in mind, because to it they must come at last. The Hon. Baronet concluded by saying, "That if the miseries produced by the measures of the Ministry were not good ground for a change of Ministry, he knew not what could be good ground for such a change." There was a general cheering at the conclusion of Sir Francis Burdett's speech. The Ministers seem to have been greatly depressed last night as well as the night before. Mr. Robinson (certainly one of the most able and least offensive men amongst them) in vain endea-

voured to make a sort of rally. He endeavoured to retort upon Sir Francis Burdett and Sir Thomas Lethbridge. He accused them of a design to undermine the national faith. He said, "He saw there was a disposition to *invade the integrity of public credit*," upon which there was a loud cheering from the Opposition! He then said, "He was not sorry to find such an opinion thus equivalently stated by a number of Members of that House." Loud cheering again. Mr. Robinson complained that the Ministers had been represented as the persons who had caused the present evils. But we shall be glad to know who it is that has caused them, if it be not the Ministers! The evils are to be ascribed to them as a part of the Parliament. They have a little more to do with them than members in general, because it was they who proposed the measures that have produced the evils. Once more, the old story about *American distress* was brought forward by Mr. Robinson; and without any proof, or any attempt at proof, of the truth of the assertion. It is notorious that America is, at this time, in the greatest state of prosperity. That not a piece of paper in the country is a legal tender: that the manufactures in that country are flourishing in reality; and that, as to agriculture, why does not Mr. Robinson produce us some complaint, some petition; something or another to establish the truth of his assertions?—This Debate is to be resumed to-night; and we are confident, that, at every renewal of it, the Ministers will find the Members more and more

of opinion, that Peel's Bill must be abandoned or that the interest of the Debt must be reduced.

MAY 9, 1832.

"*High matter!*" as Mr. Burke would have called it.—As a sort of prelude, Mr. Hume made a complaint of having been *grossly misrepresented* by the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday; but, he did not show in what; though that seemed to be rather a necessary part of what he had to do. The *Chronicle* was perfectly right as to the point of *prying*; but, that was not the *main* point. The main point was, Mr. Hume's ostentatious (and *untrue*) assertion as to the *comparative extent of the circulation* of the *Old Times* newspaper. This was the most offensive part of his speech; and of this he gave, last night, no explanation at all. Let Mr. Hume look at the brutal, the ferocious conduct of the *Old Times* newspaper while the *wife* and *sister* of Mr. Carlile were actually awaiting the judgment of the Court of King's Bench; and he will, we hope, feel some degree of shame at having actually *puffed off this paper*. Does he remember the joy that this horrible paper expressed at the verdict at Warwick against Major Cartwright, Mr. Wooler, and others; the *savage joy* that it expressed upon that occasion? Does Mr. Hume know, that, in a recent quarrel between Walter and Stoddart, it came out, on the confession of Walter himself that a base and calumnious attack on Mr. Cobbett; in the *Old Times*, in 1817, just at the time of passing the Dungeon Affair, was circulated at the *expense* of

the Government? This, we should have thought, was more worthy of the attention of Mr. Hume than the question, why the Ministers did not now give to this Walter a portion of the public money.—In another part of our paper we have inserted the article of *The Chronicle* of this day.

REDUCTION OF INTEREST OF DEBT!—This fearful topic came before the House last night, incidentally, it is true, but sufficiently in form to show us that we shall soon hear of the matter in a more regular way. The business of the day was the adjourned debate on Lord Castlereagh's resolution about the importation of corn; but Mr. Wyvill (Member for York) anticipated a good part of the discussion by making a motion, which said, in substance, that the only efficient relief was to be found in a *large reduction of the taxes!* He prefaced this motion by observing that there ought to be *twenty millions* of taxes taken off, unless Peel's Bill were repealed. His speech appears to have caused a great sensation in the House; for he manifestly meant, by his proposition, that so large a portion of the taxes ought to be taken off as would not leave a sufficiency for the payment of the interest of the debt in full. Several Members spoke in support of his motion. Several also against it. Mr. Dennis Browne (*Sligo!*) our readers know him; said that the motion would go, if adopted, to prevent the dividends from being paid, and would lead to a *revolution*. Mr. Beaumont answered, that the way to prevent a revolution, was to relieve the country from the distress under which it laboured.

Lord Castlereagh said, or rather, he asked, "Was it the intention of the Honourable Member to propose a reduction of 20 millions of taxes, and to confiscate the property of the public creditor, which in duty, in justice, and policy, the House were bound to preserve, and to meet with indignation any suggestion to the contrary?" Mr. Vansittart thought that those who voted for the motion, without dissenting from the explanation of Mr. Wyvill, were supporting "ruinous and revolutionary principles." This is what the members of the Honourable House say of each other! Mr. Wyvill's motion was finally put, and lost by a great majority; but the effect of the speech, and the tone of the parties are quite sufficient to convince us, that the day is not far distant when such a motion will be acted upon, unless Peel's Bill be repealed. During the debate, Mr. H. Gurney (Banker of Norwich) expressed his opinion in favour of a *property-tax* instead of the present taxes. Good God! where has this Gentleman been? What; is not the land going into the fundholder's hands fast enough already? Is not the revolution going on cheerily enough yet? Lay on a property-tax; that is to say, make a new lien upon the land; then pass an act to *redeem* the property-tax, after having made it perpetual; and then the conveyance in due parchment form takes place at once. This would be the inevitable progress. The revolution that was talked of by Mr. Dennis Browne, of the Sligo family; by Lord Castlereagh and by Mr. Vansittart; that revolution is imaginary, visionary;

whimsical, and has neither sense nor reason in it; but the revolution that is now going on, has something real in it; it is actually a conveyance of property from hand to hand that is now taking place; that has already caused greater "confiscation" (to use Lord Castlereagh's word) than ever took place in America or in France. This revolution will be consummated, unless Peel's Bill be repealed, in less than two years, except in cases where the owners of the land live upon the land, and in cases where those owners share in the receipt of the taxes. Therefore, that landowner must be a fool, indeed, who is frightened at the sound of a revolution from a reduction of the interest of the Debt. That reduction would certainly *destroy the Boroughs*. There can be no doubt of that; and, as we have a hundred times said, the choice of the landlords is simply this, loss of Boroughs and estates into the bargain: or loss of Boroughs alone. For, a reduction of the interest of the Debt, while it would destroy the boroughs, would preserve the estates; whereas, if the boroughs be preserved for a time, the estates must go, and the boroughs along with them. During the debate, Mr. Western took occasion to observe, and he observed very truly, that, as long as Peel's Bill remained, it was useless to talk of relief to Agriculture. Mr. Peel objected to mixing up his Bill with the subject under discussion, and asked Mr. Western whether it was his intention to bring that measure separately under the consideration of the House? Mr. Western said it *certainly was*.—Mr. Peel observed that, since the

year 1819, the revenue has been increasing; and he had said, that if his Bill had augmented the value of those taxes an amount of forty per cent was said it had, "it gave an idea of the resources of the country which he could not adequately describe." Lord Castlereagh said it was to be a great advantage. A captain of Eton: a noble gentleman, and a Member for the University of Oxford! Mr. Peel does not appear to perceive, that that which he calls revenue is an *actual confiscation of rents and tithes*. It is capital of the farmer, rent of the landlord, and tithe of the parson. Mr. Lockhart (whom Mr. Cobbett means to address separately in another place), took occasion to observe that that "great and venerable body" of men the clergy, were "reduced to the brink of ruin!" Mr. Peel, therefore, ought to have taken these things into view, before he exulted so much as to the resources of the country. It is not the resources of the country. The revenue does not come out of the profits of land, stock, and labour. The poisonous thing has worked in such a way as to make taxes come out of capital; as to make them confiscate property; and, unless this be put a stop to, it is impossible that any man (with the exceptions before mentioned) can keep an estate in land. The revolution must also continue to roll over and over; for, when the new set of proprietors have got possession, they will not be able to keep it. In short, we have only to repeat the opinion which we have maintained for twenty years past; namely, that the interest of the Debt must be re-

ed; or that the present proprietors of the land must lose their estates. We care not a whit about the repealing Peel's Bill. That would only set a-going a revolution of another sort. The result must come to the same at last. Reform the Parliament; reduce the Debt, and adopt other salutary measures; keeping Peel's Bill in force all the while: these, we are firmly convinced, are the only means of preventing a convulsive revolution in England. The courage to adopt these means will, we imagine, be wanting; but we are of opinion, that this Session will not end without a repeal of Peel's Bill. That is the easy means of preventing, for the present, the total cessation of the payment of rents. We can see, that the House is drawing more and more every day towards a conviction that the rents must cease, if this Bill be enforced. We believe that a great majority of the members are satisfied that not more than twenty or thirty millions a year of taxes can be paid in gold; and however their passions and their party feelings may influence them, it is not to be believed that they will surrender their estates without a struggle to retain them. As to Lord Castlereagh's motion about the importation of corn, though it took up a good part of the night, it brought forth nothing worthy of particular attention. It was a parcel of talk about a matter fit enough to be discussed at another time, but, at the present time, impossible, as it is that any measure of the kind should afford relief to the sufferers.—Wholly unworthy of attention, and, as Mr. Western justly observed, "an idle waste of the

"time of Parliament, and nothing more than diverting its attention from the real situation and interests of the country."

MAY 10, 1822.

WE really do feel a great deal of difficulty in giving a suitable name to the thing here spoken of. "*Proceedings!* What! those "*Proceedings in Parliament*, that "I have just witnessed!" This was the exclamation of a gentleman from a distant part of the kingdom, who never was in the place till last night. "*Those Proceedings in Parliament!*" exclaimed he, in a tone and manner to which we wish we could do justice. "What," said he, "call you those proceedings in Parliament!" We thought he never would have ended; and, as to what he said in the way of commentary on the speeches and the speakers, our readers will recollect, that, to repeat the words of others, is, in the cases in the eye of *Six Acts*, just the same as uttering those words as our own; and with those Acts, and especially *Number Three*, before us, God forbid that we should put into print the words of this astonished and astounded stranger. "What!" said he, "is that what you call the Collective Wisdom of the nation!" And then he went on again in a strain that did not, we confess, surprise us, but of which we do not, for obvious reasons, choose to speak in particulars. "What," said he again, "do you call that C. that R. that L. that W., do you call them ———!" And do you "call that a *debate* and *discussion*!" We endeavoured to

pacify him by observing, that it required to be used to the thing for some years to be able properly to estimate it; and that, at any rate, we would advise him to keep himself cool, when he talked on the subject before strangers, or, perhaps, his warmth might procure him a couple of years of cooling in a place, which we, with our experience, trembled but to think of.

Our country-friend had been to the gallery to hear the debate on Lord Castlereagh's proposition, relative to new regulations as to the *importation of corn*. The subject was wholly destitute of interest; and, as far as we can judge from the report of the debate, it was extremely wearisome. The abstract doctrines brought forward by several of the speakers were, even if they had been sound, quite out of place, the mind of the public being fixed upon this point; namely, what can be *done now* in order to obtain *relief* for the farmer, the landlord and parson, and especially for the two latter. Lord Castlereagh's motion appears to have been, at last, agreed to by a very great majority, and, upon this ground, that it could not possibly make things *worse* than they are. —In the course of the evening, Mr. Lockhart took occasion to observe, that the doctrine, that the fundholder had a *mortgage on the land*, was false; for, that he had looked into the Acts of Parliament, and could find no mortgage stipulated for. Very true. But he will find, that the *rent* is pledged to them, as long as the taxes continue; and he that has rent is, in fact, the landlord. Upon this subject we have to

remonstrate with the *Morning Chronicle*, a paper which merits respect on account of the great ability with which, generally speaking, it is conducted, and still more on account of its honesty and its uniform abhorrence of every thing hypocritical, intolérant, and cruel. In that paper of to-day we find, for about the twentieth time, a sort of thing, which we will not call a *puff*, on Mr. Ricardo. There is always great danger in mixing up personal attachments with public questions; and we would request the *Chronicle* to be on its guard against this danger in the instance to which we allude. Not that we would insinuate, that the *Chronicle* does not really believe in the soundness of Mr. Ricardo's doctrines; but, we think that it ought to be somewhat measured in its extolling of the political wisdom of that gentleman, when it cannot but recollect, that he really was the cause of Peel's Bill being passed; that he gave in *evidence* on that occasion, that the measure would cause prices to fall at *most* only 5 or 6 per cent.; that he then said, that he could imagine nothing *more easy* than to return to cash-payments; that he also then said, in debate, that, in a year's time we should be surprised that we had ever felt alarm at the effects of a measure that could reduce prices only about *three* per cent.; that he, in 1821, said, that the Bill could have reduced prices only in the degree of *four and a half* per cent.; that he has since allowed, that it may have reduced prices *ten* per cent.; and that the Ministers now rest on him as an *authority* for the proposition, that *taxes are not a*

cause of the distress. When *The Chronicle* cannot but recollect these things, and when it must have seen (in our first letter to Lord Liverpool) the demonstration of Mr. Ricardo's total want of knowledge of the principles of currency, as applicable to the great question at issue; when *The Chronicle* cannot but recollect these things, we repeat that we think, that it ought to be somewhat measured in its extolling of the political wisdom of this gentleman. However, we must add, and we really do it without any mixture of ill-nature, that there is, we suspect, a partiality of another sort active in this case, a partiality which has but too often found no inconsiderable drawback upon the various and great merits of many of the writers from the *North of the Tweed*. Scotchmen are famous for strong minds; but, here is a *weakness* that deducts surprisingly from the general mass of that strength. The case is this; the Scotch writers, from Mr. Horner to this day, have all been *wrong* upon this question. They have all contended that we could return to cash-payments *without any reduction of the interest of the debt*. Of course they have had to contend, that prices would fall only in the proportion of the difference in the *value of paper compared with gold*. This, therefore, is a Scotch affair as well as a Ricardo affair. The error is now become manifest to the nation; and the sooner the *Chronicle* abandon it, the better will it be for its reputation. It has brought ruin, absolute ruin, and actual pauperism upon thousands and hundreds of thousands of families;—and we lament most

sincerely seeing it persevered in by a paper like the *Chronicle*, which, on account of its numerous merits, has such claims to our unequivocal respect. But there is another point, closely connected indeed with that we have just touched on, with regard to which also we must seriously remonstrate with the *Chronicle*; namely, a *reduction of the interest of the debt*.—We will here take its own words of this morning:—
 “We were sorry to perceive both
 “on Tuesday and Wednesday
 “nights, a strong disposition in
 “the House to *break faith with*
 “*the Public Creditor*. We regret
 “above all, that Sir Francis Burdett should have lent himself
 “to what we cannot help thinking a *most unjust proposition*.
 “We regret it, because when
 “such propositions come from
 “the *advocates of Reform*, they
 “must bring that cause *into dis-*
 “*credit with many*. We would
 “advise the Proprietors of Land,
 “to beware how they *rashly in-*
 “*vade property*. The property
 “of the Fundholders ought to be
 “*as sacred as their title to their*
 “*land*; and if they are so un-
 “advised, as to entertain other
 “notions, they may live to *repent*
 “*them in sackcloth and ashes*.”—
 Now, we ask the *Chronicle* whether it really does mean, that the land, trade, and labour of this country are bound in *conscience* (we know they are, at present, in *law*) to pay the interest of the debt in full *in cash*? And further, whether it be prepared to assert, that, to this ought to be added, five millions a-year, raised from the real property and industry of the country, to be *laid out in stock* in order to *enhance the value*

of the capital of the fundholder? This is the case at present. Taking this Sinking Fund into view, the country pays nearly *six per cent.* to the drones; and that, too, in a currency double, nay, *treble*, in value to that in which the far greater part of the debt was contracted. Does "*good faith*" require this? And was not Sir Francis Burdett right in saying, that "*faith ought to be kept with others as well as with the fundholder*? Look at the state of the borrower, be he who he may. Has faith been kept with him? Is it an "*invasion of property*" to do justice; to rectify what is *wrong*; to act upon principles of *equity*? Is the Jew to have his bond, though the blood be drawn from the very heart? Is the child now in the cradle to be bound by us to be the slave of the children of the present generation of fundholders? And, will the nation *shun Reform*, because its advocates contend, that the land and labour ought not to be wholly devoured by the class that are useless in any point of view connected with national power and national safety?—Can the *Chronicle* find us in the writings of any lawyer of eminence; can he find us in the writings of any one who has written on public law; can he find us in the example of any nation in the world, any thing to support the doctrine, that a nation can be bound, by treaty, by convention, by law, by compact of any sort, with foreign nations or with a part of its own people; that a nation can be bound to its ruin; nay, that it can be bound to run the *risk* of ruin? The very thought is an absurdity; and is, indeed, something too monstrous

to be tolerated for a moment. When the Bank stopped payment in 1797, it was contended by some of the members in opposition to the Minister, that, to compel the fundholder to take paper instead of gold was a "*breach of public faith*." In answer to this, Sir John Mitford, then Solicitor-General and now Lord Redesdale said, that the bargain with the fundholder was conditional; that it was made with the understood condition that the nation should pay, if it could pay, without exposing itself to ruin; that the claim of the fundholder was not the first claim, even upon the taxes; that the soldier and the sailor had a prior claim; and that every claim upon the nation, implied an ability in the nation to satisfy it without exposing itself to ruin and subversion; and this he said must of necessity have been understood when the money was borrowed and the contract made. We do not pledge ourselves for the *very words*, nor any thing like it; but we positively pledge ourselves to the full meaning. Sir John Mitford received *no answer*. And, indeed, no answer could he receive, except some one had been inclined to support the monstrous proposition that a nation can bind itself to its own overthrow.—The question, therefore, now is, can the interest of this debt be continued to be paid in full, with wheat at 4 or 5 shillings a bushel, without a total breaking up of society in England; without a complete ouster of the present race of landlords; and without an actual and complete seizure of all the property of the Church? We are not asking whether it would be a

good thing or not that this ouster and this seizure should take place; we are not inquiring whether the landlords and parsons deserve it; whether their conduct towards the common people merit this ruin and degradation: we are now inquiring into the simple fact, whether the interest of the debt can continue to be paid in full in sovereigns without being attended with such a consequence? We are well satisfied that it cannot; and, of course, we must be of opinion, that all those who wish not to see such a result, must of necessity be for a reduction of the Debt, or for some measure that will raise the price of wheat to twelve or fifteen shillings a bushel.—When *The Chronicle* says that the landlords may live to repent in sackcloth and ashes their notions relative to a reduction of the interest of the debt, it says nothing to frighten any landlord of common sense; for leaving the ashes out of the question, what dress better than that of sackcloth; we mean literal sackcloth, stuff such as corn-sacks are made of; what better dress than this is that landlord to expect, who can, if things go in their present way, no more expect to preserve his estate than he can expect that the sun will stand still, or the tide recoil at his command. The process that is going on is as obvious to every man of common sense as any process in mechanics. Here is the tax-gatherer coming regularly to the farmer, to the ploughman, to the blacksmith, the wheelwright, the collarmaker, and all the various persons, supplying, in all the various ways, the means of carrying on the farm. Here

is the tax-gatherer coming regularly and taking from all these that surplus of the fruits of the land and the labour which constitutes rent. The tax-gatherer brings it up to the Government. The Government gives about three-fifths of it to the fundholder, and the other two-fifths it gives to establishments, the principal use of which is to support the tax-gatherer in enforcing his demands. Nothing ever was more obvious in this world. It is so clear that it is impossible not to be understood by persons of the meanest capacity. What risk, then, does a landlord run from his attempts to retain a part of this rent? What risk does he run? Sackcloth he may come to at last, though it is not very easy to perceive the probability of this in case of a reduction of the Debt; but, if the Debt be not reduced, to sackcloth he must come. As to Reform, is there one single man in the kingdom who believes, that a Reformed Parliament would not at once reduce the interest of this Debt? and as for the cause of Reform losing friends in consequence of language like that of Sir F. Burdett,—has the cause of Reform one single friend; one single real friend, who has one single sixpence in the Funds by his own consent, except, perhaps, for mere temporary convenience? Does *The Chronicle* not recollect that it is this millstone, that it is this Jew-like crew that has always prevented Reform, by joining heart and hand with the Boroughmongers upon every occasion. Does not the *Chronicle* recollect how this base crew hastened to issue its declarations against the Reformers and in fa-

your of the Dungeon Bill of 1817? In short, was not the debt created for that purpose, for the express purpose of bribing the rich amongst the common people to support the Boroughmongers in carrying on a Borough system of Government? What, then, is Reform to lose; what friend is it to lose by language like that of the Hon. Baronet? Reform is absolutely necessary to the reduction of this debt. Sir F. Burdett well remembers how often he has been pressed, years ago, to hold the language in that House which he now holds.—He will remember well that it was then contended, that there never would be Reform until the estates of the landlords were put in imminent jeopardy by the claims of the fundholders. That state of things is now come. The labour of the hedger and of the ploughman has long been swallowed up by the fundholder. The estates of the landlords are now going down the same all-devouring throat. If the landlords consent to Reform, their estates are saved; if they do not, withered, shrivelled up, be that hand that would put upon paper a single word having a tendency to save those estates. At present, however, we think the landlords will lanch forth again into the sea of paper-money, rather than suffer the people to have their rights; and a hazardous sea indeed it will be for the landlords. The sea of paper-money has never yet failed to prove the destruction of any system of government that ventured forth upon it. It destroyed the Old Congress of America; it destroyed the Convention of France; and, if amongst

a people like the Americans in particular, attached as they were too to that Old Congress that had carried them through the Revolution; if, amongst such a people, it produced a total overthrow of Government, and the necessity of new-modelling every thing, what is it to produce in a state of society like this.—Nevertheless, rulers never take warning; and we think that Peel's Bill will be repealed and that forth we shall be lanchd on this tremendous sea. The mortification is, that there are all the means, and the easy means, too, of preventing this, and of putting all things to rights, without one single act of substantial injustice. A wise Government would begin this great undertaking by acts which would restore cordial harmony between the nobility and the common people. Talk of want of means, indeed! The chief means would cost nothing but a few sheets of paper. Repeal Six-Acts; let the Reformers out of prison; cease persecution for (if you will have them such) erroneous opinions about religion; repeal what are called the Combination Acts; put the Game Laws on the footing where they stood fifty years ago; let the clergy cease to meddle with secular affairs; and these acts alone would, without going a step further for the present, make a total change in the feelings and disposition of the people with regard to the nobility and the Government. However, it is, in all probability, quite useless to talk in this style; the Thing seems resolved to go on in its own way, and we must each of us in his sphere make up his mind to abide by the consequences.

MAY 11, 1822.

IN THE LORDS (last night) Lord Darley moved for an account of the steps that had been taken by the Government to relieve the starving people of Ireland. The motion was lost; but it was distinctly stated, that thousands upon thousands *had starved*, and *were dying with starvation in the streets and highways*! It is not in a meeting of Jacobins, radicals, or blasphemers that this was said (and not at all denied) but in the House of Lords, and that too on the very day that the papers were giving an account of the "*Grand Dinners* given by Rothschild!" And, is all this to end without something that shall make the world remember it? "What a picture of a Government," said Lord Grey, "hundreds and thousands of the people of Ireland dying in the streets and highways for want of food, in the midst of an alleged superabundance!" What a picture of Government, indeed; but, it is precisely what one would expect from a Government where certain things, "as notorious as the sun at noonday" have so long existed. It is nonsense to make a clamour and outcry about it. It is the natural fruit of a Parliament not elected by the people at large. To be sure the like of this never was known before; neither was the like of what is "as notorious as the sun at noonday" ever known before. We have been saying for years and years, that starvation or revolution must be the result. The Irish appear to be a nation amongst whom starvation will go down. While such is the state of Ireland, it is a

farce to talk of the ameliorations, as they are foppishly called, of the morals of the people; or of an increase of their knowledge. With all Lord John Russell's increase of newspapers, this starvation has not been prevented, which is come, too, in the midst of a superabundance. This celebrated THING here seems to have attained the consummation of its excellence. Here are the Ministers that are at the head of carrying it on, asserting, with the stoutest pertinacity, that superabundance of food is the cause of the distress of the country; and here are proofs before Parliament, that hundreds and thousands of the people are actually dying in the streets and highways for want of food! And yet, we are to be banished for life if we say any thing that has a *tendency* to bring into contempt either of the branches of this Government.

In the House of Commons there were on foot *Agricultural Distress*, *Licences*, *Catholics*, and *Duty on Tobacco*. With regard to the first, Mr. Curteis, in presenting a petition, gave a dreadful account of the state of things in Sussex. His words were so remarkable, that we cannot help inserting them here:

The Hon. Member proceeded to read an extract from a letter which he had that day received from a most respectable constituent. It gave a most afflicting detail of the state of farming depression in the vicinity of his neighbourhood. In one parish, out of a population of 2,000 persons, 1,000 were receiving allowance from the parish. Such was the state of irritation created by the distress of the labourers, that persons composing the select vestries would not at-

tend, afraid of being ill-treated, some of them having been stoned on their return from their former attendance. In other parishes the inhabitants were paying an increased rate under a contract, though since the said contract was entered into half the parish had gone out of cultivation. The tithes were as grievous in England as in Ireland, and therefore he should expect for the landed interest of this country, the same extent of amelioration as was intended for the Irish. In truth the agricultural interest of the country which he represented was daily getting deeper into suffering. Much mischief had already begun to show itself, and much more, he feared, was to be apprehended. The yeomanry were preparing to depart for other regions. The gentry were deserting their ancient mansions with the hope of returning in better times; while the landlord, he might say so without a solecism, was actually paying a rent to his tenant to induce him to continue in the cultivation of the land.—(Hear!)

Mr. Curteis is mistaken in one respect, namely, that the gentry are quitting their ancient mansions with the hope of returning in better times; or, at least, these gentry are foolish people; for, we can assure them that they will not return to their mansions, unless Peel's Bill be speedily repealed, or unless the interest of the debt be speedily lowered. Oh; dear, no: they cannot have those mansions and Mr. Rothschild have his dinners upon gold. But, what do they want? Have they not got the better of the Radicals? Did they not imprison Bonaparte till he died? Are they not going to have a Waterloo monument? Have they not got a half-pay and pensions that cost them five millions a-year? And

have they not to pay these five millions for all the fightings that they had: and do they want to eat the cake and have it too? Have they not preserved what Old George Rose called the blessed comforts of religion? Have they not preserved the tithes, which the wicked French took away from their clergy? But stop! what do we see; do we really see it, or is it an "air-drawn dagger?" What! faith, Mr. Curteis wants to get rid of tithes! For what does he say: "that tithes are as grievous in England as in Ireland, and he should expect for the landed interest of this country, the same extent of amelioration as was intended for the Irish." Amelioration means abolition. And now, Hampshire Parsons; now ye backers-on of Lockhart the Brave, do ye recollect what Mr. Cobbett told you at Winchester in the month of March 1817, when you would, if you could, have torn him to atoms? We are delighted with this word amelioration as applied to tithes.—Well, next comes Sir Neddy Knatchbull, who said that the distress described by Curteis was not confined to Sussex. He added that some means of relief must be adopted as speedily as possible. Aye, but how? Will you vote for taking off taxes to the amount of twenty or thirty millions; or will you vote for a repeal of Peel's Bill? Mr. Knatchbull recommended the extension of the system of granting land under *Select Vestries*, for the maintenance of the poor, from twenty (the present limit) to one hundred or two hundred acres. Oh, oh, what then; the poor

are part-proprietors of the land; are they? We are coming to the practice of the doctrine, which we have so long been preaching, and on which we have observed in our comments on a recent speech of Lockhart the Brave. Oh, no, Mr. Ricardo, the poor lands will not go out of cultivation! It is strange that Sir J. Shelly should be uneasy "least the country would be abandoned by the *farming body*." If by *farming-body* he mean rent-payers, he is right enough; his alarms are well founded; but he may be assured that there will always be somebody to till the land and to eat the food. Sir T. Lethbridge trusted the House would not separate without affording relief. He trusted the landholders would write and demand that relief from the Ministers. It is impossible to know or to guess at what Sir Thomas means. If he means that relief is to be got in any other way than that of repealing Peel's Bill or reducing the interest of the Debt, he will find himself deceived.—A petition having complained that the duty on hops was so great as to be ruinous to the growers, with the present low price, Mr. Ricardo took occasion to observe, that the "case of the hop-growers proved that, however high you raise the scale, *abundance will overcome every thing*." Here is a pretty argument! Hops are made low in price by an alteration in the currency; the duty is as high as it was when the currency was low in value; the hop-growers are ruined, and Mr. Ricardo chooses to ascribe their ruin to superabundance of crop! Nothing more

is necessary to men of sense, and as to those that can be amused with stuff like this they are unworthy of our notice.

LICENCES. — Some petitions were presented for an alteration in the Licencing System. Upon which Mr. Dickinson is reported to have said, that the complaints on this score were overstated. Mr. Brougham allowed the Licencing System to be in many parts of the country, pure, though he appears to have stated nothing in the way of proof as to such purity. Sir E. Knatchbull defended the "*magistracy*" generally; and we should be glad to know how these Justices of the Peace became entitled to the appellation of magistracy. Mr. Brougham said, that many Lord Lieutenants had such a regard for Justices and Parsons, that they never *mixed the two avocations*; that is to say, never made Parsons Justices of the Peace. We agree with such Lord Lieutenants, if such there be, and we should be very much obliged to Mr. Brougham, if he would name any one of them to us, that we might pull our hats off to them the next time we meet them.—There does, however, seem to be rising up a pretty general opinion that it is high time to think a little seriously about making these black-coated gentlemen Justices of the Peace. One thing will have a tendency to check the practice; and that is, that the parsons will now have to sit upon the bench at Quarter Sessions, and decide upon questions relating to the applying of their tithes to the maintenance of the poor, *in order that the farmer may have something left to pay rent*

with. This is the pincher. The parsons were very good Justices of the Peace until now; very good enforcers of the game-laws and the excise-laws; but may not be thought to be so very good Justices of the Peace, when the question is whether the labourer shall be paid out of the rent or out of the tithes, in order to make up enough for him to pay a sufficiency to the fundholders and the fighting people. Faith it is now, razor cut razor; there must be a notch somewhere. All will depend, at last, upon strength of back; for as to the edges they will be gapped and battered to pieces long before the contest begins. There the parties are, however, tooth and nail, cat and dog, higgledy-piggledy, parsons, landlords, fundholders, fighters, placemen, lawyers, pensioners and sinecures, men, women, and children, scratching and tearing, kicking and flinging and biting; and here stand we, the "*low degraded crew*" of reformers, enjoying the sport.

CATHOLICS.—Mr. Canning's splendid exhibition came on again last night, under the form of a second reading of the Catholic Peers' Bill, which was at last carried by a majority of twelve. Mr. Wetherell quoted Virgil against the Bill. And Mr. Pee! quoted Horace on the same side. Nevertheless, the motion was carried. We would have our readers clearly to understand that this carrying means just nothing at all. For that it is a question of tithes, and of nothing else, as we showed before; and the *Morning Chronicle* appears to take the thing in the same view; for that paper cannot talk upon the sub-

ject a moment without dropping into the matter of tithes. It observes to-day, that whether it was wisdom in our ancestors to establish tithes, it will not discuss, "but it is obvious that we exhibit no proofs of wisdom in continuing." "In Catholic countries," continues *The Chronicle*, "the tithe is in most cases hardly felt: but in England it approaches very fast to an equality with, and will soon surpass the rent." Again, "the tithe on hops is often two or three times the value of the rent." "What a state of things to be continued!" Well, then, all that we have to say is, the Lord have mercy upon the parsons! If it were not for fear of being confounded with sinners like Mr. Hone, we would really propose to have their case included in the Litany.

TOBACCO.—A petition was presented praying for a reduction of the duties on tobacco, which, it was stated, amounted to a thousand per cent. on the first cost! That is enough upon that subject. If that is not "the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world," we do not know what is.

"Mr. Wilberforce took an opportunity of stating, that he had been misrepresented in a discussion on a former night, as he was made to say, in allusion to a Right Hon. Gentleman opposite, that 'it was how seen whether he had accepted office because he agreed with Administration, or whether he agreed with Administration because he had accepted office.' He (Mr. W.) had made no such invidious observation,

"and he could state before God and his country, that his words had been misrepresented."—Ah! we were, indeed, surprised when we had to quote the report here alluded to. We thought it strange indeed, that this should have been said by "*L'Amides Noirs*."

MAY 14, 1832.

THE LORDS had nothing at all interesting before them; but, in the other place there arose, incidentally, matter of great interest. (The subject before the House was Lord Castlereagh's resolutions, relative to an alteration in the *Corn Laws*, which were finally adopted, after some resolutions of Mr. Ricardo and of Mr. Huskisson had been rejected. This incidental matter was a most vehement lesson by Mr. John Smith (Carrington!) on the subject of Mr. Wyvill's proposition for a *thumping* reduction of taxes. There were all the changes rung upon "*sacred engagements*" and "*national faith*." To repeat all the fine things said by Mr. Smith we have not the conscience. But, we must notice, that he said, that, if any such sweeping measure were to be adopted, the *Bank would lose all its bullion in a month!* The thing works surprisingly! The vessel labours in the storm. She takes short tacks. She is actually getting amongst the breakers; and, we shall soon hear her keel strike, if she do not throw the rotten boroughs overboard, which we firmly believe she will not.—Lord Castlereagh highly commended the speech of Mr. Smith (Carrington!) who is, we believe, a *banker*. The noble person said, that it was calcu-

lated to make a *deep impression* on the House; and, "in the *critical circumstances* in which the country was placed, was *highly meritorious*."—To our fancy, though, it did not seem to produce much impression! And, before the evening was over, Mr. Maxwell called upon the nation "*to hasten to reconsider its public and private contracts*." But, is the country then, in "*a critical state*?" What! after Waterloo?—After the death of Napoleon and of Ney; after the restoration of the Bourbons, the Pope and the Inquisition; after the triumphal and jubilee monuments have been voted; after the victory on the Serpentine River; after all the glorious victories over the Radicals; after Six-Acts, or, rather, with them in existence? After all this, and after "*a safe and easy return to cash-payments*," is the country still in "*a critical state*?" Why, then, we have been spending eight hundred millions of money for nothing; that is to say, we have *borrowed* that for nothing; besides breaking up about two hundred thousand small farm-houses, and making their former inhabitants paupers; besides reducing millions of people to a state of misery and degradation not to be described; we have been doing this all merely to bring ourselves into a "*critical state*." The THING has kept down the Jacobins, Levellers, Reformers, and Radicals; to be sure; but what could these have done more than the thing itself has done? What could these have done, all united together, worse than has been done by the indescribable THING itself? We are in a precious pickle, indeed, if the

country be in "critical circumstances," with Waterloo or the "dead charge," costing us five millions a-year for ever, and with a vote of the Collective Wisdom to build a monument to immortalize Waterloo! But, we are now come to higher matter. Mr. Attwood (a very clever man) after having observed that, if Mr. Western's proposition should be adopted, the alteration in the Corn Bill, now proposed by Lord Castlereagh, would be extremely injurious to the landed interest, proceeded to observe, that if the House determined to adhere to Peel's Bill, the country was not on the eve but in the midst of a great and extensive change. He said it was folly to talk of the currency being established on an unalterable basis, when this iniquitous measure (Peel's Bill) was working the most ruinous effects in every part of the kingdom; and he added, that if the Ministers did not disregard every principle of justice, they would immediately consent to a reduction of all pensions and salaries in proportion to the altered value of the currency. Lord Castlereagh attempted to parry this thrust by ridiculing, or by a vain attempt to ridicule, Mr. Attwood's remarks as to places and pensions; but, can he deny, that the allowances to the Royal Family, that the salaries of the Judges, that the salaries of the Police Magistrates, that the salaries of hundreds upon hundreds of others, that the salaries and pensions of Ambassadors, were augmented; were in many instances doubled, on the express ground of their having become too low on account of the depreciation of money. He

cannot deny this; and, therefore, all attempts at ridicule are vain. On the other part of Mr. Attwood's speech, Mr. Peel and Mr. Ellice had something to say, and something very well worthy of attention. Mr. Peel said, that he was surprised at the reception which Mr. Attwood's charge of iniquity against his Bill had met with from the other side of the House. He could not affect surprise at what Mr. Attwood said, for Mr. Attwood was not in the House at the time when the Bill was passed; but with regard to the other side of the House receiving this charge of iniquity with cheers, he certainly had a right to express his surprise; and now we beg the best attention of our readers to what Mr. Peel said. He said, that the Bill might or might not be founded in error of judgment; but that, to hear it described as an iniquitous measure, and also that description hailed by the other side of the House, did, he must confess, surprise him.—"Where," said he, "was the recollection of Honourable Members opposite? Did they forget that in 1811, Mr. Horner, a man, whose memory, though a political opponent, he should ever respect, brought forward a report, which recommended a return to the corn standard within two years? Will the Honourable Gentlemen opposite say, that such a proposition was deserving of the terms 'iniquitous measure?'—(Hear, hear!)—What was the whole course of the measure now under contemplation? Did it not receive the support of the Hon. Member opposite?—Did not the Hon. Member for Co-

“ventry (Mr. Ellice) propose a Resolution, whose object was to make the ultimate limit of a return to the ancient Corn standard in the year 1823? And yet it was strange that he (Mr. Peel) was now exposed for similar exertion to the sarcasms of the Member for Callington.”—Mr. Peel concluded by observing that he *gladly* received those taunts, when he recollected, that he *was comprehended with the Hon. Member for Portarlington*.—So, the burden is at last to fall upon this oracular personage! But, here we have it all ripped up. Here is St. Horner brought forward again, and held up and rubbed against the noses of Mr. Tierney and the Opposition. In great justice this is done; for, did not they applaud him to the skies when Peel’s Bill was passing? Did they not puff him up to the third Heaven; and did not Mr. Tierney say, that he was restrained from complimenting Mr. Peel, lest he should be thought to be complimenting himself, he (Mr. Tierney) being in reality the originator of the measure, of which he now did not entirely approve, because it did not come to cash-payments *soon enough*? Surely, then, Mr. Peel had a right to be surprised when he heard Mr. Attwood’s charge of *iniquity cheered* by the Hon. Legislators opposite!—Well, but now comes Mr. Ellice, who wished the Bill to be more quick in its operations, and who actually *moved an amendment to that effect*. Surely this gentleman must have surprised Mr. Peel when he cheered the charge of Mr. Attwood! Mr. Ellice endeavoured, in the first place, to defend St. Horner; and how?

Why, he said that when Mr. Horner made his proposition, there were only thirty millions of country bank-notes in circulation, whereas when Peel’s Bill passed there were sixty millions in circulation. Mr. Ellice knows nothing about this fact, and nothing but a grubbing groping merchant, as ignorant as the wrapper round a bale of goods, would have adopted this mode of computation. The question with St. Horner ought to have been, not what was the quantity of Bank-notes in circulation; not what was the price of gold compared with that of paper; but what was the average price of the bushel of wheat, compared with the average price of that article before the war. Saint Horner was just as wrong as Mr. Peel; and in fact, Mr. Peel’s error was in adopting the error of St. Horner; and he should have been taken back to Oxford and there horsed, unless he would have sat down and read every word of Paper against Gold, which was written in 1811, and which proved St. Horner to be an ass.—Mr. Ellice, having in this sort of way defended St. Horner, took a better sort of way to defend himself; that is to say, by confessing that he was an ignorant man. “He was free to confess (stolen from the Rump) that he *did not then*, (at the time when the Bill was passed) *estimate the extent of that measure*,” and “he would go farther and say, that *neither that House nor the country had even then any idea of the extent of the results to which it would yet lead. If any person could have calculated upon such an operation, he would certainly have*

"*paused before he gave his assent to that measure.*" We come to close quarters here with Mr. Ellice.—Was there not a person who did calculate upon such an operation? Was there not a person, who, though in Long Island, not only foresaw but foretold all the results to which that measure would lead? Was there not a person who did this, and who caused his foretellings to be published in England long before the Bill was passed: and did not Mr. Ellice see that person kept out of the very seat that he now fills by means of the fists, bludgeons and knives of a set of the basest ruffians, except the ruffians who employed them, that were ever seen upon the face of this earth? Oh, no: the House; the unreformed House; the precious House; the Collective Wisdom, this body, indeed, had *no idea of the extent of the results* to which the measure would lead; but *that person* had a very clear idea of those results, and so had all the readers of those writings, to stifle which was not the least of the motives of the immaculate House when they passed Six-Acts. It may be very well for Mr. Ellice to say that he was ignorant upon the subject; but he must not be permitted to say, without a remark from us, that *every body* else was as ignorant as himself.—Mr. Peel's surprise was just. The Opposition took upon themselves the *credit* of the measure; and they now deserve the largest share of the reproach that attaches to it.—It is material to observe, that Mr. Peel and Lord Castlereagh, did not, however, intimate any decided intention to oppose Mr. Western's motion for

the repeal of the Bill. They caught hold of Mr. Attwood's charge of iniquity; but they by no means justified the Bill, and Mr. Peel admitted that it might have been founded on an *error of judgment*! This is all that we ask for; but we most sincerely hope that that error of judgment will not now be repealed; and we repeat that such a repeal, seeing all the debts now due to tradesmen and others, which would be in a manner sponged off by it, would be the most atrocious act of wickedness ever committed by mortal man. If it should be done, we shall be obliged to acquiesce in it, and to hold our tongues, but, we would fain hope that there is yet too much justice left upon earth to suffer such an act to be committed.

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MAY 15, 1822.

IN THE LORDS nothing at all interesting; and we may here observe, that we have no recollection of any Session of Parliament during which there was so little of discussion in this House. The reasons are obvious enough; but it may be as well to leave them unstated.

IN THE COMMONS were Mr. Bennet's motion for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the laws relating to the *Licensing of Public-Houses*, and Mr. Hume's motion relative to the *Ionian Isles*. The precise objects of the Bill we do not yet know; but, that it contemplates an *alteration* is quite enough for us; seeing that we are convinced, that there can, as to this affair, be no change for the worse. We think, that one clear benefit would be, to prevent *Parsons*

from meddling with the matter, any way whatever. Their interference leads to endless feuds in country parishes; and, we will venture to say, has done greater injury to the Church than all the ravings of all the methodist parsons. Why should the clergy dabble in such matters? And is it possible that such dabbling should not tend to sink their calling in the eyes of the people?

Mr. Hume's motion was:—
 "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct an Inquiry into the state of the Government of the Ionian Islands; the causes of the general disaffection, and of the numerous arrests and banishments which have taken place there; and for what reason the inhabitants were disarmed, and martial law proclaimed." The motion was lost, there being 67 for it, and 152 against it. The facts alleged by Mr. Hume are horrible; but, by the time that Mr. Wilmot had closed his speech, there were so many doubts raised, that the hearers must have become bewildered. The truth is, that if the Parliament resolve to keep possession of the territories in question, it must also resolve to support the system there pursued. It is like the question of the Slave Trade, which is, in fact, not a question of slavery, or no slavery; but a question of sugar-colonies, or no sugar-colonies. The Ionian Isles serve as the means of giving part of the taxes away in places and allowances. The Parliament knows this very well: *nobody better*. And, it has the power to cut off this mode of applying part of the

rents and of the fruit of labour, when it chooses. As a large part of the charge is now falling upon rents, we cannot say, that (the Parliament being unreformed) we have any very great objections to the charge.—But, besides these considerations, much attention cannot be expected to matters of this sort, while we are agitated, as we are, at home. The fire being in our own house, we have no time to think much about that which is consuming our neighbour's. It is such propositions as those of Mr. Wyvill and Mr. Western that awaken attention and put the feelings in a stir. "Hast thou a drug, Doctor, to scare these fundholders hence?" say the landlords to Mr. Hume, as Macbeth said to his professional countryman about the English army. "Hast thou a drug to get us rents? Thy physic to the dogs, then; we'll none of it." And, it unfortunately happens, that Mr. Hume is, with Mr. Ricardo, for "*national faith*," and, of course, against rents. The landlords care much less about all the people in the Ionian Islands than they do about one single pound of rent. The decision at Norwich, which took such a large part of the tithes away to enable the farmer to pay rent, was of more consequence in their eyes than the fate of all the colonies in the world.

The night before last, Mr. Peel made a remark, on the authority of Mr. Littleton, respecting the sauciness and easy circumstances of the "*labourer*," in Staffordshire. It came out, however, that these "*labourers*" were *miners*! In another part of our paper of to-day will be found (taken from

the *Morning Chronicle*) a statement of these poor, wretched creatures themselves. We despise their *cant* about praying to "*God to direct*" the magistrates, and all the other of that sort of stuff contained in their Address; and, if we could forget the situation of their wives and children we should say, that, as a *punishment for this cant*, they merit the treatment they complain of. But, was not Mr. Peel deceived? Did he not produce very bad evidence of the *good effects of his bill*? The account (also in another part of our paper) relative to the iron-work labourers in *Monmouthshire* presents no proof of that "*prosperity of manufactures*," about which so much has been said. Sir John Sinclair says, the manufacturers are in a *state of decline and ruin in Scotland*. And is it *prosperity* at Manchester? The Cavalry Gentlemen of the 16th of August know better. But, at any rate, the labourers in England, generally speaking, are better off than they were some years ago, and particularly the labourers in agriculture. There is getting to be *less difference* between farmer and labourer than there was; and God forbid that we should again see a system of paper-money, that would again close the labourer's mouth against meat. Mr. Western's proposition would, if adopted, produce injustice and cruelty without a parallel. It would cause the robbery of servants, the robbery and ruin of tradesmen, and especially the most daring robbery of all those who have been inveigled to put their money in *Savings' Banks*. A robbery of all who have obtained annuities since 1814. In

short, a measure of such glaring iniquity was never before thought of; and, we are very sure, that, when Mr. Western shall see the consequences, to which it must inevitably lead, he will start back from it with affright. We agree with Lord Lansdowne, that no such thing ought to be done, as long as there exists a "*possibility*" of the nation's meeting its "*most solemn engagements*." And, that *possibility* never can cease to exist with only the present taxes; for, though it is, doubtless, desirable, if it can be done without injury to the other classes, that *rent* and *tithe* should be yielded, yet, there is no man that will pretend, that these are *absolutely necessary* to the existence of a nation; much less will any man pretend, that they ought not to cease, rather than that all the classes except landlords and parsons should be totally destroyed. We are aware, we will concede to Mr. Western, that the rent and tithe must be taken away, unless Peel's Bill be repealed, or the interest of the Debt reduced; but, it is *possible* to pay to the full, *by taking these away*; and we agree with Lord Lansdowne, that nothing but real "*impossibility*" to pay ought to prevent the payment. Were there a *Reform of the Parliament* indeed the case would be different; for then every man in the community would have an opportunity of giving his assent to any arrangement that might be proposed; and it is most likely, that mutual sacrifices would produce an amicable and just settlement of things. But, as such reform appears not to be thought of by the landlords, we are for the law taking its

course, and for holding the landlords to their bond. Mr. Western did not, when at the Essex Meeting, appear to *understand our meaning*; he will, perhaps, understand us better now. We have always held the same language upon the subject: *reform and reduction; no reform no reduction*. And, in no case whatever a repeal of Peel's Bill; because that would be not only robbery; but robbery with the basest hypocrisy, and of the classes least able to bear loss.

—♦—
MAY 16, 1832.

IN THE LORDS, as usual, merely giving assent to Bills and other matters of form.

In the COMMONS two subjects, rendered interesting by statements and declarations that came out during the evening: Mr. Lennard's motion for a Committee on the subject of the *salaries of foreign ministers*; and a Petition relative to *Irish Tithes*. As to the former, Mr. Lennard moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the third Class of the Civil List; and to report their opinion on the same, to ascertain whether a saving might not be made on the same." This motion was *negatived*, 274 being against it, and 147 for it; so that this was worse than almost any division that the Opposition have had. Lord Castlereagh told the Collective, in so many words, that, if they agreed to this motion, the Ministers would *resign*; that is to say, fling the Boroughs up to be dealt with by the *Reformers*; for this is what resigning really means! And this it was that de-

cided the question in the negative. In vain did Mr. Lennard show the monstrous extravagance of the charges; in vain did he show that a fellow named Stratford Canning receives for being our Envoy to the United States, 500*l.* a-year more than is received by the President of the United States himself, the Chief of a nation as populous as England and that beat England, both by land and by-sea; in vain did he show these things. The naked answer was, if you touch these things, we will resign our places. This, as we have said, and particularly as it has been said in the *Political Register*, for years past, is the safe defence of the Ministers; the impregnable fortress of those who live upon the public money. Sir James Macintosh, Mr. Creevey, and Mr. Tierney, found fault with this language of the Ministers; but, in our opinion, without the smallest reason on their side. It is very notorious that the system which puts these three Members into the House, could not exist for a year without the existence of such things as that which Mr. Lennard wished to put an end to. It is monstrous to give young Wynn such a sum of money, it is monstrous to give Stratford Canning 6,000*l.* a-year; but is it any thing more monstrous than the means by which Sir James Macintosh, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Creevey are returned to the House of Commons; and could they be returned in the manner that they are; could two, out of the three, at any rate, be returned at all, if it were not for the existence of that system of which the affair of young Wynn forms a part; aye, an essential

part top, as these gentlemen know full as well as we do:—Sir James Macintosh found fault of Lord Castlereagh for speaking with disrespect of the economical habits of the United States' Government; but he did not fail to trumpet forth the praises of the House of Commons, which he called the *Republican part of the Constitution*. He called it the guardian of the people's interests. He called it the guardian of the public money. He did not say that it was no such a thing; he did not pretend that it was the *people* that put him in for Knaresborough, nor did Mr. Tierney put forth any such pretensions, nor did Mr. Creevey say that he was the guardian of any thing but the pig-sties of Appleby.—Well, then, is it not notorious that the present sort of Government and Legislature cannot be carried on without such things as are contained in the third class of the Civil List? Is there a man in England that doubt of this; and who can deny that Lord Castlereagh was right in saying, if you take this from me carry the thing on yourselves?—*The Morning Chronicle*, which still clings to something which we cannot define, but which seems to imply an opinion that the system may be upheld and these things taken away from the Ministers, brings forward the *distressed state of the country* as a reason for adopting the motion of Mr. Lennard. Bless the *Morning Chronicle*! The distressed state of the country has nothing to do with the matter, begging the *Chronicle's* pardon: nor, begging Mr. Tierney's pardon, have the Country Gentlemen, as he calls them. He says that they

get turned out of their seats by this vote. And how many of them are there: are there fifty out of the six hundred and fifty-eight? If he had joined Castlereagh upon this occasion: if he had turned short round and voted against Mr. Lennard, *would that have turned him out of Knaresborough?* He knows well that it would not; and he knows that it is the *Borough* Gentlemen, and not the *Country* Gentlemen, that have the settling of the matter; and he does know, or ought to know, that the *Borough* Gentlemen know very well that the resignation of these Ministers, happen when or how it might, would speedily put an end to their power, and to all the good things thereunto belonging, appertaining, attached, and undetached. Mr. Tierney is much too old a politician not to understand this sort of policy one would think; and yet he does not seem to see his way so clear as we could wish.—He does not seem to perceive the consequences of a *change of Ministry*. He does not seem to perceive that it would produce a total breking up of the system; that no Ministry could come in in the place of this and refuse to Reform the Parliament, without producing absolute confusion all over the country. Does he think that the funds would keep up to 78 if a change of Ministry were to take place? We will bet him the worth of his own interest at Knaresborough, that is to say, the price of a pound of beef, or thereabouts, that they would tumble down to 50, if not to 30. What folly, then, to talk of a change of Ministry! Can he imagine *no persons* that a change of Ministry

would put into Parliament in a short time? And would not he sooner have both his legs broken then see such persons in Parliament. This is the ground for the Ministers to take whenever they are hard pushed. He finds fault of their not having fled to this ground in the cases of the Postmaster-General and the Lords of the Admiralty. Those were trifling occasions. The Ministers, though so deficient of talent in governing a country, are by no means deficient in talent in governing in a particular quarter. They know when they ought to make a stand; and when it is not worth while to make a stand. They know very well how to manage their own matters; and they know that they can remain in those places as long as the thing will hold together, if they please.—Amongst the things possible is that they would not much dislike an excuse to resign. We should think them unwise to resign in any case whatever; for, they are just as well off where they are as if they were out of office; and they would be if the thing were to go to pieces. By remaining where they are, they may hold it together longer than it otherwise would be held together. The borough system could not possibly live for twelve months, if they were to resign; and, in their hands, it may possibly live a couple or three years. That is to say, it may exist, for live it does not now, as it has been accustomed to live. Oh, no! Let us have no change of Ministry, though we must confess that such a change would accelerate the fall of the borough system. The thing is a complete

whole as it is. Such a Ministry is just the thing for such a Parliament, such a Parliament is just the thing for such a Ministry, they are made for each other; and, in God's name, let us see them going on in harmony together till we have before us all the natural and inevitable consequences. We thank Mr. Lennard, however, for having brought forward the subject; because it gave Lord Castlereagh an opportunity of throwing out that threat of resignation, which we have always said would be so efficacious.

THE IRISH TITHES is a subject of much greater importance. The picture drawn of the exactions of these tithes, and of the state of the wretched people that yield them is truly horrible. One man said, that the poor creatures had nothing to subsist on all the year round but potatoes and water. In the course of these speeches, there came out quite sufficient, one would think, to convince every man of sense, that where potatoes are the diet, the people must be slaves, and in a state not one particle better than a half-starved pig. Any thing so wretched in human shape never was described before. And, shall we hear any one after this crying up the excellence of the potatoe as food for the labouring people of a country? It appears to us, and always has appeared to us, that the wretchedness and semi-barbarism of the Irish are owing to their living altogether upon this detestable root. We are now told that the *wet* came. The *wet*! why the *wet* came in England, too; but was it followed by such a scarcity of food as to produce a sweeping starvation through the country.

The truth is, that, in the potatoe system, or more properly speaking, the brute system, there is no depending upon a supply; there is no store, no provision; the wretched people are, like wild animals, dependant upon chance. Nothing ever was better calculated to make a people slaves than the general use of this root, as food for man. In the year 1817, Mr. Curwen chanted in the loftiest strains, the *hospitality* of the Irish peasant! He said his cabin was *humble*, indeed, but he freely gave you what he had; that is to say, of his potatoes. And he added, that he was not, like the English labourer, talking about his *right to parish relief*! No, nor can he talk about parish relief now; but a million of money is to be granted, paid in part out of the sweat of the English labourer (and ungrudgingly paid by him), to preserve that hospitable Irish peasant from actually dying for want of food. We thank God that the English labourer has his rights yet: and that he knows them, too, in spite of the doctrines of Mr. Malthus. If those rights did not exist, a pretty state this country would be in at this moment. As to the tithe in Ireland, it is like that in England, only that it is collected from a people who, generally speaking, are of the *same religion as the pastor*, or who care very little about tithes, their own religion; or his. The interesting point of view to look at tithes at this moment is, how they affect, not the tenant, but the landlord; not the occupier, but the owner, of the soil. Mr. Plunkett observed upon this occasion that the fault lay more with the landlord than the parson. He said that

after the landlord had swept away every thing for rent, the parson was compelled to fall upon the *insolvent fund*. We never heard of an insolvent fund before, but doubtless, Mr. Plunkett meant that the landlords squeezed the poor devils almost to death, and that the parsons came and finished the job. The landlords had their advocates, too, and Mr. Becher said, that the case of the Irish gentry was very hard, for, while they were compelled to act as police-officers, they were compelled to forego their rents. Mr. Curteis dropped in a word against English tithes; and Mr. Hutchinson said, that Irish Members had no indisposition to allow English landlords to avail themselves of that relief which they themselves implored with regard to tithes. Oh! What they want *relief* then, do they, with regard to tithes. It is the landlords, then, is it, that want the relief! Faith Mr. Plunkett was right. It is the landlord, that cannot now get his rent, that is making all the outcry about tithes; and not the *occupiers* of the land. And a miserable fool he must be to join in any such outcry; for, is there any thing clearer in this world, than the fact that, if you take off the tithe, the tenant must pay it in the shape of rent? This, therefore, is a question, not between the parson and the occupier of the land, but between the parson and the landlord. The contest is in good hands, and its termination is not of the smallest interest in the world to the people at large. The Church property is, however, so great in amount, and its distribution, for the far greater part, is so closely connected with the operation of

the Borough system, that the dispute, the struggle between landlord and parson is of considerable importance as connected with the final issue of this "general working of events." In this point of view, all that is said about tithes, is well worthy the attention of our readers, whom we have only to guard against the vulgar notion of tithes being particularly oppressive, because they have that name instead of going under the name of rent. Such notions as these were fit for the dark ages, when Pitt or Fox each had his set of huzzas; when fools were amused with the names of Court party and Country party, and before the name and occupation of Borough-monger were well understood. In these enlightened days, we begin to understand things as they ought to be understood; and certainly shall not suffer ourselves to be humbugged by pretty speakers about the poor peasantry, when it is the landlord, all the while, that is wanting to step into the shoes of the parson.—The simple state of the case is this, the Borough System of Government needs a certain sum of money every year to be paid to various descriptions of persons. The landlord and the parson have hitherto received certain shares of income under the name of rent and tithe. They can no longer receive these shares and leave enough for the Government to receive. The parson is sure to want the whole of his share, and so does his rival the landlord. They cannot prevail upon the Government to take less than it takes. "Government must be supported." That's a maxim that they start with. There remains, then, to each party,

nothing but the share of the other to crib from. The parson's share is a fixed thing. It is a proportion of the produce. It is also visible and tangible. He is perfectly content with what he has, and has merely to rest upon the defensive. The landlord is coming at him tooth and nail; but faith; it's no chicken-hearted thing he has to deal with! So, that here they are; and really, as far as merely concerns property, the main mass of the people seem to have nothing to do with the matter.

Mr. Brougham mentioned, last night, that he had received a letter, stating that in a certain county, the Magistrates, when licence for a public-house was applied for on renewal, the person so applying was strictly questioned, whether he took in a particular newspaper, and that, if he were found to take in that newspaper, his licence was not renewed! Mr. Brougham added that, if he should hear of this in other quarters, he should *bring the matter before the House!* Oh! Lord, and what then? The House would laugh at him, we dare say; for not one single member in it can be ignorant of the practice having existed for these thirty years. Did Mr. Brougham never hear the history of the innkeeper at Merriden? Has he never heard of the hundreds and thousands of instances in which publicans have been refused licences, and their houses deemed disorderly because they took in publications calculated to expose the Borough system? To tell the House of it, therefore, will be telling them news, indeed; and we very much question but Mr. Brougham has heard of newspaper establishments themselves that have employed

agents to go about to public-houses to cause other newspapers to be put out and their own to be put in their place. This is all futile stuff. If the newspaper which a man takes in be not the ostensible ground for refusing him a licence, some other ground can easily be framed, and this real ground kept out of sight all the while. There is no way of doing justice in this case but that of taking the power out of the hands of the justices altogether. They are carefully selected, before they are appointed by the Government; and can it be supposed that they will not do every thing in their power to prevent the circulation of sentiments inimical to the measures of that Government. Representations like this of Mr. Brougham tend to delude, tend to make the world believe that there is only here and there an instance of the kind that he mentioned; and, therefore, tend not at all to discredit, but to support, the system; a thing which doubtless he has a most cordial desire to do.

MAY 17, 1822.

NOTHING of any consequence in the LORDS.

IN THE COMMONS there were three subjects. The *Poor Laws*; *Absentees*; and *Young Wynn*.

The first came up incidentally, a Colonel Jenkinson having said, the *present distress* was, in a great degree, ascribable to the *Poor Laws*. Upon which Mr. Lockhart observed, that the system of *Poor Laws* was, in its nature, *rotten*; and would ultimately expire in "*agonizing convulsions*." We believe, indeed, that there will be a *convulsion* when the laws *expire*! But we are quite

satisfied, that the *convulsion* will reach beyond the *Poor Laws*.—There will be a *convulsion* as to some other laws, or things called laws. It is a pretty curious thing to hear the distress, as it is called, of agriculture ascribed to the *Poor Laws*. We heard of no distress while rents and prices were high, and landlords were gaining enormously. It is only now that we hear of distress, though we never heard any thing at all of it while that course of things was proceeding which reduced the people to pauperism.—It happened rather unluckily for Colonel Jenkinson, and Mr. Lockhart's opinions, that Mr. Hutchinson, who had been called up by something that had fallen from Mr. Sykes, should bid them look at Ireland; at the wretched state of the people of that country; at a set of the most miserable beings that ever were seen in the world. This was unfortunate, and at a moment, too, when a Bill was before the House for granting money, almost all raised upon England, to give relief to the starving Irish. Very proper that that relief should be given, in some shape or other, but a very unfortunate time, this, for talking of the *evil of Poor Laws*. There are no *Poor Laws* in Ireland. If there had been, the people would not have been dying by thousands in the streets and in the highways. But why this clamour about the *Poor Laws*, which cause only about six millions to be raised, while other branches of expenditure, take, including the expense of collecting the taxes, about sixty millions a-year.—Why this clamour about the *Poor Laws*, and, at this time, too, when Mr. Peel and Mr. Huskisson have de-

clared, and Lord Liverpool, too, that the Poor Rates are diminishing?—Mr. Lockhart talked about the rottenness of this code of laws. No, Mr. Lockhart, it is rottenness in *another quarter*; rottenness as notorious as the “sun at noonday,” that is the cause of the agricultural, and all other distress. That is the rottenness that we want to get rid of; and if we were well rid of that, the Poor Laws need give us very little uneasiness.

On the subject of *absentees*, Sir T. Lethbridge presented a petition from some people in Somersetshire. They complained of the number of people residing, and of the quantity of money spent in France; and Sir Thomas proposed a tax on placemen, pensioners, sinecurists and public annuitants residing abroad. Mr. Ricardo took occasion to speak again of his project for paying off the National Debt; and Mr. Dennis Browne observed, that one half of the men of property in Ireland were calculated to be absentees. Mr. H. Gurney brought forward the case of the poor men that were taken the other day and crammed into gaol, under a charge of attempting to leave the kingdom for the purpose of conveying a knowledge of their art to foreigners. This he reprobated very justly, and said, at any rate, that there ought to be the same law for the rich and the poor. The men were very great fools, or they might have gone to France without their master, whose name appears to be Martino, knowing any thing at all of the matter. They need have cared nothing at all about the law, just or unjust. Mr. Dickinson wished to remind

persons who left their country in this time of distress of the patriotic feeling of a Persian Ambassador, who brought to Europe a sod from his own earth, that he might recollect every day to do something for the benefit of Persia; an Englishman, Mr. Dickinson said, who resided abroad at this time, should recollect that, in every act of their lives, they were doing something *to the injury of England*. We dare say that the ingenuity of Mr. Dickinson would find something injurious to England in the increase which the population of France would receive from the bastards of Englishmen there born, of which, taking army and navy people together, we should suppose the number to be about ten or fifteen thousand a-year. But, the Persian Ambassador, Mr. Dickinson, had, we dare say, good reason for liking Persia. He wished to do something for Persia every day; but Persia was doing something for him every day. The same may be said of our pension and sinecure people; but the same cannot very well be said for English artisans and manufacturers; and especially for Irish, who are starving by hundreds and thousands in the streets and on the highways. And what injury *to England* are these people doing? The quarrel is, what does England mean? These people may do harm to rents and tithes very likely; but, at any rate, they can do no harm to the pheasants, partridges, and hares. If they be abroad, forty of them at a time cannot be in Thetford or in any other gaol for the crime of seeking to kill or wound these precious animals. The Chancellor of the Exchequer

took credit to himself for having examined all possible modes of taxation; but could not agree to a tax on emigrants. And here he really made a very sensible observation, namely, that to make England more comfortable was the best way of inducing people to stay at home; and this he said would be done *in proportion as prices of provisions became more equalized with those of the continent*. Nothing ever was truer than this. But, it was rather mal-a-propos, at the time when he and his colleagues were swearing that the present distress arose from *superabundance* of food, and when his colleague, Castlereagh, had even brought before that very House a proposition for taking corn into pawn in order to raise its price! Let us advert, for a moment, to Mr. Ricardo, who said that one great effort ought to be made to *get rid* of the National Debt; and that, if this were done, and the Corn Laws abolished, he was convinced that the *progress* of this country would exceed what we had hitherto even conceived in imagination! Mr. D. Browne was not disposed "to draw sunbeams out of cucumbers;" Mr. Dickinson thought the visionary and wild project of paying off the Debt, so often entertained by enthusiasts, had little to do with the matter. But, begging Mr. Dickinson's pardon, Mr. Ricardo said, according to our report, nothing about *paying off*: he talked only about *getting rid* of the Debt, and there we heartily agree with him; and not at all with Mr. William Smith, who said that it was a gross delusion to suppose that the condition of the people would be made better by a reduction of the

interest of the Debt, though he was ready to allow that *reduction of taxation* might afford some relief; so that it remains for Mr. Smith to show, that the reducing of the interest of the Debt would not include a reduction of taxation. However, as the landlords seem resolved that there shall be no reform of the Parliament, we hope that the people are resolved that there shall be no reduction of the Debt, direct or indirect, if they can prevent it.

Young Wynn's affair went off in much the same style as the general question did the night before.—Mr. Warre's resolution was negatived by a majority of 247 against 141. Mr. Warre brought forward his proposition in a very "gentlemanly" tone. Very soft, and particularly towards the gentleman in question. And Lord Castlereagh (to the other's great gratification, no doubt) praised him very much for it. His Lordship bestowed upon the subject but very little in the way of speech; and the House seemed extremely impatient for the division. It was with great difficulty that Lord Normanby's words could be heard; and as to Mr. Warre's reply, the report states that it was *impossible to catch a single word*. The question was, in fact, decided the night before; and, the real grounds will, we think, be found very satisfactorily stated in our paper of yesterday. *The Morning Chronicle* of to-day talks of the earliness of the division having prevented a number of members from voting with Mr. Warre, and seems to think that the decision will not greatly add to the reputation of the Ministry. It is a strange thing that

The Morning Chronicle cannot yet see, that there can be no change of Ministry without a Reform in the Parliament; and that every question of this sort will always be carried by the Ministry, when they choose to say, if you carry it we will quit our posts. It is impossible for the un-reformed system to go on under a new Ministry; and this is known extremely well to every Borough Gentleman in England.

MAY 18, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, a question was asked by Lord Darnley about the *smuggling* of foreign corn into England through the ports of Ireland. The *Prime Minister* assured him, that there was no such thing. It is curious enough that the English *landlords* (for it is not the *farmers*) should be in such a sweat about this at a moment when the *poor Irish are starving!* And, it is still more curious, that, while there are all manner of schemes to *raise the price* of corn, and while distress is imputed to *over-production*, the *Premier* should express his hope, the production would be *added to* by the proposed modification of the corn-laws! From a discussion, which arose on a question of Lord Darnley, about the relief which the Government had given to the Irish, it appears that they had sent the poor Irish "*seed*" for the next crop! What a provident Government! Lord Lansdowne said, that the "*poor peasants*" had been, on the failure of the potatoes, compelled to *consume* the cow and the pig, and were left "*without the means of paying rent;*" so that the

landlords, not getting their rents, could not "*carry on the works*" that they had undertaken, and thereby *give employment*. He, therefore, approved of the Bill (now in *another place*) to *grant money* for the purpose of *giving employment!* This money is, then, of course, to go into the hands of the *landlords* for them to carry on *their works* with! We were not told *what works* these were; nor what *security* was to be given for the money being expended in *this way*, rather than in any other way. The whole thing, however, is as pretty a specimen of the effects of *the system* as it could be possible to produce. The *Premier* took occasion to observe, that the best way of sending relief was through the means of *subscriptions*, and that *he had encouraged* the one now on foot. The "*grand dress ball*" in London for the "*benefit*" of the starving Irish is not the least curious thing. The King is to be present, and the Duke of Devonshire is to be the *patron*. His Grace lately stated, that he *owned the tithes of twenty parishes* in Ireland; and, of course, his Grace is deeply interested in the health, happiness, and prosperity of the Sister Kingdom. Three Duchesses, and about 29 other high ladies are the *patronesses*; and a great number of Noble Lords are a Committee appointed by them. Then comes an account of the subscriptions of *regiments of horse and foot*. And then of that of the "*gentry*" of *Manchester!* The City of London has also subscribed; and Sir William Curtis told the House, the famous House, last night, that the *Drapers' Company* had

10,740 *Irish tenants*! However, the fact to be recorded is, that regiments of soldiers, fed, lodged and clothed; fed well and clothed gaily, and even decorated to finery, by the means of taxes raised on the people, are subscribing to relieve the distresses of that very people; and to save them from dying in the streets and in the highways from starvation! This is the fact to be recorded. This is the thing to be remembered; this is the thing calculated to illustrate that Government which is called the stupendous fabric of human wisdom, and represented as "the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world." Lord Lansdowne's analysis of the case throws great light upon it. The cow and pig, he says, were consumed; no means were left of paying rent; the landlords, thus deprived of their rents, were compelled to cease to give employment; and therefore, says he, it is a wise policy to give the means of employment. That is to say, we should suppose, give those means into the hands in which they used to be placed before the poor creatures eat up the cow and the pig. Now, mind, by subscribing money to be given to these wretched people, you give the means of preserving the remaining cow and pig; of coming into a state to pay rent again; then the landlords again will be able to give employment; and, thus, the thing will be complete. Mr. Martin exclaimed last night, with regard to Mr. Hume, he yawns and leaves the House, the moment the sufferings of Ireland began to be agitated. "What was Hecuba to the Hon.

Gentleman, or he to Hecuba," that he should weep for her? But, the question here is, who is this same Hecuba; whether it be the landlords, or whether it be the tenants that represent Hecuba? And is a man to be represented as *unfeeling*, because he does not discover uncommon anxiety to vote away the taxes of England and Scotland, to be put into the hands of those who have been unable to get their Irish rents; and this too, at the very time that it is openly declared in Parliament, that one half of the owners of the land in Ireland are out of the kingdom? We should laugh to have such a charge preferred against us; and most assuredly should have opposed and exposed this grant of money in every stage of the Bill. The Marquis of Lansdowne truly stated the case; and we thank him for it, though we totally differ with him as to his opinion of the propriety of the grant. A Bill to compel the Irish landlords to return home and share the sufferings of the tenants, would in our opinion, have been much more proper.

In the House of Commons, *Agricultural Distress* and the *West India Trade Bill* were the only subjects of any interest. As to the first, Mr. Western presented the Essex Petition, and Mr. Lennard observed, that nothing would be availing but an efficient reduction of taxation, and if Parliament did not grant that relief, he for one thought and hoped the country would take it. We must, for about the hundredth time, express our opinion that every hope of this sort is perfectly ridiculous. How is the

country to take it?—What is the country to do to get rid of taxes? The error here arises, as in many other cases, from want of due attention to the nature of things described by the words that men make use of. What does Mr. Lennard mean by the country in this case? *Jerusalem*, that is to say, about a million and a half of persons living jovially upon the funds, must be against the reduction of taxation; *White-hall*, that is to say, an immense number of persons, pensioners, place-people, sinecurists, grantees, allowance-people, men, women and children; these are all against reduction of taxation. *Horse-Guards*; that is to say, all the present active force, and all the relations of all the officers and of all the cadets in all the Academies and the like; these are against the reduction of taxes. *Waterloo*; that is to say, all the half-pay in Germany as well as in England; all the military pensions and allowances; all the gentlemen, all the ladies; all the young people of both sexes; all the relations of all these, are against the reduction of taxes. Now, if Mr. Lennard add all these together, he will find, we imagine, that he has got, here, a considerable part of the country. Besides there are all the farmers who are already ruined; there are all the labourers, too; and even these would be against a reduction of taxes, if to be effected by the means of another paper-money system; for they would be losers and not gainers by such reduction in such way. So that he may make up his mind to the country not taking relief. The country will not take it, he may be assured, as long as the

Boroughs return Members to Parliament in the manner that they now do. Mr. Lennard does not appear to perceive that there is, in fact, nobody but the landlords and parsons that have any real interest in the reduction of taxes. As long as all other things remain in their present state, it is just as well for the labourer for the jews to receive the amount of the rent and tithe as it is for the landlord and parson to receive it. And if Mr. Lennard thinks, that there will be any thing of a stir in the country, for the purpose of restoring the rent and tithe to the landlord and parson, he is the most mistaken man alive. To prevent the complete transfer of their property, we, for our own parts, would not (without a Reform of the Parliament) take the trouble of walking across the room in which we now sit.

The discussion on the *West India Bill* brought forth from Mr. Ricardo an observation, which shows that that Gentleman is not to be rescued from the monstrous error into which he has fallen concerning the currency. Mr. Ellice had said, that it now took 227*l.* Jamaica currency, to pay a hundred pounds sterling; and that, in 1815, it took only 155*l.* Jamaica currency to pay a hundred pounds sterling. Mr. Ellice said, that the currency of Jamaica was a depreciated metallic currency. On this Mr. Ricardo observed, that this could not very well be, seeing that the currency of Jamaica was not, itself, altered in value. He forgets that it is not the alteration of itself in value, but its alteration compared with the price of commodities. The raising of the

standard here has caused the prices to fall; that is to say, it now requires more sugar to pay a certain debt than it required before; and the slaughter amongst the West India Proprietors has hitherto been greater than amongst the English Landlords; because the West India Proprietors were more generally deeply in debt. Mr. Ellice gave instances of the exorbitant demands on British ships in our colonies. "He had obtained an account of the charge to which a ship was subjected in one of our West India Islands, charges imposed for no public purpose *but to fill the pockets of various officers*, who, if they were necessary, might not be overpaid. In Trinidad, there had been charged in 1814, for the *Collector fifty-five dollars*, for the *Comptroller forty*, for the *Searcher thirteen*, for the *Naval Officer twenty-seven*, for the *Harbour Master fifteen*, and various others, in all amounting to 89*l.* in a ship of 300 tons. In 1820 and 1821 these charges had increased to 132*l.* *A British ship in a British colony was subject to four times the charge of a foreign ship in foreign colonies.*" He further observed, that he had recently spoken with the Master of a ship of 260 tons from America; he had been on a voyage to Charleston, and the whole Government charges for light-houses, customs, harbours, &c. amounted *only to 23 dollars*; and shame to say, our Consul's fee for endorsing the papers was 20 dollars."—Well, and what of that, Mr. Ellice?—Do you want to destroy the system of election which you saw at

Coventry and which put you into your seat? Because, if you do not, all these charges are necessary; full as necessary as food is to the keeping of your body alive. Not necessary, indeed, to have collectors, comptrollers, searchers, naval-officers and harbour-masters, and all gloriously well paid? Not necessary; when, as you well know, there are right noble lords of blood so high as to have come in with the conquest, who fill not only those offices in the colonies, but who are packers, craners and wharfingers in Ireland. How futile, then, to pretend to complain of these things; a man may as well complain of having a wife after he is married.—Sir James Mackintosh has been well satirized by the *Courier* for thinking about measuring our expenses by those of the American States. These expenses belong to a system; they form an essential part of the system to which Knaresborough belongs. Does Sir James disapprove of Knaresborough, which gives him his seat? Would he throw open the borough of Knaresborough? Would he put an end to it? Not he, indeed; therefore, we do say, again and again, that it is unreasonable to complain of these expenses. Knaresborough is an evil, or these expenses are all right; and we pray (but we need not pray) that they will all continue undiminished as long as Knaresborough remains what it now is.

MAY 20, 1822.

WE have heard, that the Ministers mean to get the Parliament separated by the *middle of June*. If this be true, they cannot intend to carry forward their project of

Legal Tender; for, that would take time. Mr. Western's proposition cannot well be intended to be carried. The thing is impossible. So that things will, in all human probability, go on in the present way for *another year*; and that year will, we imagine, put matters in such a state as to be *irretrievable*, except through the means of a *great change*, of which a reform of the Parliament will be only a part. The discussions, which we have had to witness of late, have strongly tended to confirm the nation in that persuasion which a great majority of it has long entertained; namely, that there is no hope of any *relief* at all from that quarter, *without a Reform*. It is quite surprising to perceive the *change* in men's minds with regard to the *House of Commons*. Interest there is none excited; and as to the *real feeling* that does prevail respecting the House, it is much more easy to *imagine* what it is, than it would be safe to *describe* what it is. In short, almost all men, even down to the hedgers and ditchers, now *know* what that House is. What description of persons compose it; how they are put there; and what are their principal motives, motives to which, were we to attempt to describe them, we should certainly do *great injustice*; seeing that neither tongue nor pen can come up to the subject.

What is to be the produce of *this week*, who can tell. No man can guess; for even the Ministers themselves know nothing at all of the matter. The man, who when going out into the road, tossed the reins of the bridle upon his horse's mane, that the horse

might take him to the church to be married, or carry him quite a contrary way, was not more undecided than our Ministers are at this moment. The other day they were *hot* upon *small-note* and *legal tender* projects. Now, as we understand, these are *given up*. We do not *vouch* for this; for, God forbid, that we should vouch for any thing respecting their intentions, even after they have got their projects *actually before the House*.—They know not what to do. The thing is too mighty for them; and our opinion is, that they will attempt *nothing*, not because they do not *give their minds to the subject*, as is supposed by Sir Thomas Lethbridge; but, because the subject is too vast, and much too vast, for their puny minds. This is too, the opinion, we believe, of a great majority of their supporters; but, as we have often had to observe, those supporters are more afraid of the consequence of their removal, than of the consequence of their remaining where they are. Such, we are convinced, is the general dread (in the "*House*,") of a *change of Ministry*, that we are firmly persuaded, that nine-tenths of what is called the "*Opposition*," would, if the thing came to that, *vote* for the present Ministers' retaining their places.

We omitted to notice on Friday Mr. Martin's Bill about cruelty to animals. In another part of our paper, there is a letter to that gentleman. We ourselves thought that he made a sweeping assertion when he said that the *Westminster Pit* contained a set of the most *detestable blackguards that he had ever seen in his life*. Mr. Peter Pidcock knows, it seems,

of another Pit in Westminster, where animals more beastly are frequently seen. We must say, however, that this is no justification of the atrocious rabble described by Mr. Martin. Mr. Peter Pidcock has not pointed out to us, or, rather, to Mr. Martin, where his Pit is. We shall be obliged to him to do this; for, certainly, if there be such a hell-born nest as he describes, it ought to be dispersed with all convenient dispatch. We have never heard of this Pit of Mr. Pidcock before; and are extremely anxious to get some further information about it. Mr. Pidcock says, he has seen both pits. He says that in his Pit animals more beastly than badgers or any of those described by Mr. Martin, draw, night after night, company five times as numerous; and he says, "I venture to add, "of fifty times more filthy, filching habits of life." Where, in all the world, can this pit be? We wish Mr. Pidcock would point out the spot. But, where are the constables; where the police; where women with buckets of scalding water, to disperse this beastly, filthy, filching multitude!

MAY 22, 1822.

Local circumstances have placed us a day in arrear of the Right Honourable and Honourable Houses.—That is a pity; for, we are never so happy as when sticking close to them, especially at a time like this, when their ideas appear to be so very lucid and their measures of so prompt and decided a character. The scene is now not only full of interest, but also full of instruction. We

are persuaded, that the things that are passing now will be adverted to, in a few years, nay, perhaps, in a few months hence, with an attention to particulars such as has been seldom witnessed.

On MONDAY the 20th, the LORDS received the *Catholic Peers' Bill*, and about 20 petitions against it. We are certain that this Bill will *not pass*; or, at least, as certain as we can be of any thing that depends on the will of man. We can see no sense in having brought it in. It must be clear to all men of sense, that it is a question of *church property*, and, perhaps, of other landed property too; but, at any rate, of church property. No man can suppose, that what is called *Catholic Emancipation* would do the smallest good. Whenever *Irish Tithes* are mentioned, the true string is touched. That is the only thing of interest connected with the Catholics. That is the only real bone of contention.

IN THE COMMONS.—*Irish Tithes, Manslaughter-Bill, Marriage Act* and the *Navigation Bill* were the subjects. As to *Irish Tithes*, it appears, that the bill intended to be brought in has no object beyond that of giving the present parson power to bind his successor by *leasing* the tithes. This will do just nothing at all; or, if it do any thing, will present a bar to any future law of a more efficient nature. It is not *leasing*, but *diminution*, of tithes, that the Catholics want, and that the Protestants want also. Mr. Plunket repeated what he said on a former night; namely, that the oppression and misery imputed to the *parson* ought to be ascribed to the *landlord*. He took an op-

portunity of observing, that he had, when this subject was lately before the House, been rather unfairly dealt with. He had been represented as having spoken harshly of the "*country gentlemen of Ireland*," for whom he entertained the *sincerest respect*. He repeated, however, what he had said before, which was this: "That, in these parts of the country where the *pressure of tithes* was not complained of, it was found, that the great cause of distress was the *heaviness of rent*." He then went on to say, that, in the county of Down, where the rents were easy, there was no *clamour* about the oppression of tithes. To be sure. They cannot have it *both* ways. If one takes so much as to leave nothing for the other, without *starving the people*, that other must take less. We are fully persuaded, that, if the whole of the tithes were abolished (every thing else remaining unchanged) the people would not get each a mouthful of potatoe peeling in a year by the abolition. The potatoe pulp must be for the pig, of course, for he will not put up with peeling; but, we insist, that, if the whole of the tithe were given to the landlord, the labourer would not gain a single mouthful of peeling in a year by it, as long as the system of sway remained what it now is. Mr. Plunket was pleased to talk about "*the Country Gentlemen of Ireland*." We never heard of these before; and for curiosity's sake, should really like to see one. We know there is a description of persons in this country going by that name, which, by the by, they appear to have given to themselves, nobody in their several neighbour-

hoods ever thinking of giving them any name, *construable into the word gentleman*. "*Country Gentleman*" is a sort of nickname, given to a particular set of fellows dressed in top-boots, leather-breeches, blue coats, with yellow buttons, starched cravats, round hats, and carrying in their hand *ash-sticks* with the bark on, as if just cut out of a hedge-row. An air of placid supercilious and surprising emptiness marks their countenances in the street; but, follow them a little, and you will find them trotting in and out of all the passages leading to the offices and audience chambers, and poking about their noses, like dogs that have lost their master. Here they lose all their haughtiness, and creep and fawn like curs; and that thundering voice, in which they have been accustomed to address paupers and poachers, they soften down into the *squeaking pipe* of a thing six feet high and as big as a sugar-barrel, that we have, at times, seen in the company of some of them. Such are our English "*Country Gentlemen*." We should like to see one or two of Mr. Plunket's Irish ones. So much for Irish Tithes!

On the *Manstlaughter-bill* Mr. Brougham made a good speech, which we insert here, and request our readers to dive into the full meaning of it, without venturing to comment on it ourselves.

"Mr. Brougham did not rise for the purpose of opposing the Bill, but to say a few words upon one point which it went to remedy, and which had been long an acknowledged defect in the criminal laws of this country, he meant the apportioning of unequal punishments for the same offence; or, what was equally

"bad, the apportioning of equal punishments for crimes of a different nature. He took it, that in all cases of established crime, there ought to be a fixed and unchangeable punishment; that the degree of punishment ought to be just sufficient to produce the desired effect, the prevention of crime; and that in every case there ought to be the greatest possible economy of human suffering. He could not imagine a greater calamity, than that the law should be so constructed, as to give to the judges a power to limit the punishment of crimes in certain cases. Those judges, in the exercise of an unsound discretion (he meant not to impute any corrupt motives), sometimes thought good to deal out punishments inversely, inflicting the higher penalty on the lighter degree of guilt; or confounding all distinctions, and visiting different punishments on the same offence: or else the same punishment for offences of a very wide and distinct character—(Hear, hear.) This was a system which, if persisted in, must have the effect of bringing the pure administration of justice into great but not unmerited contempt."

The *Marriage Bill* did not give rise to any thing worthy of particular notice, except a new proof of the perseverance of the author of the Bill, who, as far as we can recollect, has been at it for nearly *twelve years*. Children not born when this Bill was first born, have grown up, and many of them, we dare say, are now *fathers* and *mothers* themselves. Either, therefore, Dr. Phillimore must have a wrong notion about the utility, nay, the absolute necessity, of this Bill, or the House of Lords must have a wrong notion about it. We should sup-

pose, that the *printing* about it has cost no trifling sum. We wish it had been expended to give an out-fit to forty or fifty new-married labourers and their wives.

NAVIGATION BILL.—This is no light matter. We have not yet seen the Bill; but, we know, that it contemplates the sacrificing of *navigation to trade*; that is to say, for the sake of getting revenue by the importation and exportation of goods, it gives up a part of the *carrying* of those goods: more revenue, more commercial gains, and *less ships* and *seamen*. It is a measure produced by poverty and taxation; produced indeed by the *Debt*, the all-pervading Debt. The Debt, the paper, as the Borough Bank Directors said, enabled us to bring the war to "*a glorious conclusion*." But, it has entailed upon us the necessity of sacrificing the *means of our security* for the future. What is now contemplated is a great surrender; but others are to follow, if the THING go on. It is not this that will do. It is positively asserted, that the French have *landed troops in Saint Domingo*. At another time, that would not have been done without our asking the *reason*. But, we shall hear of encroachment after encroachment on the part of the French, which is, indeed, the only way that the Bourbon can go to work to rally his people round him. The *Morning Chronicle* calls it *clamour* to oppose any of these projects of what is called "*free trade*;" a very pretty name, but mightily misunderstood by men like Mr. Ricardo. If England had allowed of "*free trade*" for the last 300

years, she would have been a very insignificant country at this day. It is very well known there is no country, that has shipping to any extent, that cannot *undersail*, and that could not *always* do it. It was by our laws only that we maintained a superiority on the sea.—This, it seems, is now to be bartered away for *commercial profit*; that is to say, for the *ready-penny*! The *Chronicle* (right in a great many things) mistakes the matter here. It is better that a native should be *poor* and always *safe*, than *rich* and in *constant danger*.—This was the policy of our ancestors; and, though the Marquis of Lansdown do not seem to see it, it was the true policy. It is not to the interest of *ship-owners* that we are looking at, but the interest of England. Smith and all that school have continually been showing us the gains of “*free intercourse*.” Gains to whom? No doubt that the repeal of *all* the Navigation Laws would add greatly to our commerce and to the receipts at the Custom-house; but, scarcely a single English merchant-ship would be seen on the seas! It is quite *fine* to hear Messrs. Ricardo and Brougham talk about *relaxation* and *liberal policy* and *improvement*; and, in the present hungry and grasping state of things, it is, we suppose, in vain to say any thing on the other side. Nor, indeed, while we are under an *unreformed Parliament*, does it much signify what is done. Even the natural consequences of a loss of naval power might, in the end, produce good. We can hardly imagine *any thing* that would not be beneficial in the end, if it led to a state of

things, in which there would be *no Borough seats*.

MAY 23, 1822.

DURING Tuesday night nothing occurred worthy of the particular attention of any man, woman or child, who understands the game of fox-and-goose, or that of push-pin; we should, indeed, have made one exception, namely, the statement of the Lord Chancellor, on Tuesday night, that the Bill, brought into the *other* place by Mr. Canning, to repeal an Act passed in the reign of Charles II. about *Catholic Peers*, was, in fact, a Bill to repeal an Act, which Act *had been repealed more than a hundred years ago*! Now mind, this Bill was *brought in* by the Right Honourable relation of Mrs. and Miss Hunn. Nay, it was read a first time, or, as far as we know, *nearly passed* in the *other* place, in this very state; for, the Lord Chancellor *says*, that it was only owing to *subsequent alterations*, that the Bill did not actually come up to the LORDS in that state; to wit; a Bill to repeal an Act that had been repealed in the reign of William and Mary! The Lord Chancellor, who, doubtless, does not want the useless plague of this Bill, which he knows never will pass, took this opportunity of saying a good thing or two on the subject of the *error* in the other place; and, Lord Holland having reminded him of the irregularity of alluding to what had passed in the House of COMMONS, and insisted that the “*mistake* was of *no consequence*,” the Lord Chancellor replied, “that he “pleaded guilty to the charge of “irregularity; but that the *igno-*

" rance displayed in framing the measure ought to make that House very cautious in looking to the state of the law and the real purport of the measure before them." To be sure; for if a man can frame a Bill to repeal an act that is *not in existence*, what knowledge can he have on the subject? Can any measure of his be a thing to be suffered to pass without examination?—The Lord Chancellor appeared to be rather jocosse in one part of his speech. Some petitioners had made the mistake too; but, said the Lord Chancellor, " they may be excused, as the *Statesmen* and *Legislators* of the House of Commons had fallen into a similar error." So, as the thing now stood, here had been a Bill to repeal an Act which had been repealed a hundred years before; and here were petitions against a Bill that was not now before the Lords, the thing having been changed since it made its first dashing appearance! The words "*Statesmen* and *Legislators* of the House of Commons" must have been felt in t'other place! And, let it be observed, that the *Oxford Scholar* never perceived the thing; but debated away in support of the *wisdom, justice* and *necessity* of the Act of Charles II.! And then the House, the great, the perfect, the astonishing, House divided, and there was a majority for repeating the Act of Charles the Second, which had been repealed more than a hundred years before! Lord Holland said, the "mistake was of no consequence." Indeed! but, in our opinions, it was of great consequence. It showed what sort of knowledge Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel and

the House in general possessed upon the subject; and the public are much indebted to the Lord Chancellor for the exhibition that he has made. Before *Six Acts* were passed; before it was banishment for life to utter any thing tending to bring either House into contempt, there was a writer, who proposed to collect persons together (to fill a certain place) by setting a string across any of the great entrances into London. This was, doubtless, proposing a very promiscuous mode of getting people together; but really, with all due reverence be it spoken, we do not see how persons got together even in this way could do much more than agree to repeal bills, which had been repealed a hundred yedrs before!

Last night, there were, it appears, only thirty-six members in the Honourable House, and it requires forty out of the six hundred and fifty-eight to begin law-making upon any day; though, after the work is begun, a law may be passed with a much smaller number present. So that, there was nothing done in the Honourable House last night. In the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne brought forward the subject of *Breakfast Powder*; but said that he should propose no measure, as he expected one to be proposed in the other House. There would have been no prosecutions upon the subject, if the makers and venders of the article had called it roasted wheat or rye or other grain; or, flour, of wheat, rye or grain. There could have been no prosecution in that case. And, therefore, they have, in a great measure, themselves to thank for

the prosecution. Breakfast powder may mean *imitation of coffee*. And that the Act prohibits; and especially when the price approaches any thing like the price of coffee. Wheat and rye, take the average, do not now cost any thing like a penny a pound. The loss in drying would make it a penny farthing; the grinding a farthing, perhaps. If then, it were sold for twopence or twopence halfpenny a pound retail, there would be a very good profit; and there would be no occasion for those fine names which bring prosecutions. In many parts of the country many families make it themselves. It is right that it should be sold in towns, and ready ground, too. But no law will be passed to protect the venders, unless they call the article by its true name; and, indeed, we should not be at all surprised if the nick-names which they have given to the thing were to cause a law to be passed to *tax it*. We have heard a whisper about *licences* to sell breakfast powder; so that, the thing will end in a pretty manner, after all; a scheme to check the consumption of excisable articles, producing the adoption of a new tax! This is what we think very likely.

MAY 24, 1822.

IN THE LORDS there was a discussion relating to the vote of money for the relief of the Irish. Lord King did not object to the measure; but regarded it as most ineffectual and delusive. He observed, that it appeared that there were actually a million and a half of people starving, that the fifty thousand pounds proposed

to be granted amounted to about a shilling a head, and that he hoped that no part of this would be intercepted in its application by what were called jobs; that, under the pretence of making roads, it was too possible that individuals might get roads made up to their own houses; that a great deal had been said in another place about the rapacity of Irish landlords; but that he could assert that such proprietors were not so rapacious as represented, and were nothing in comparison with the rapacity of the Church tithes and Government taxes. The Earl of Limerick was sorry to hear charges thrown out against the Church and State of Ireland; and though he owned that jobbers *were to be found* in Ireland, he thought that they were to be found in England, too. Lord King, rising to explain, observed, that the measure was insufficient, and that he hoped the Government would not soothe their consciences with having now done much for Ireland. If they did, their conduct would resemble that of a Society for bettering the condition of the poor, some of whose members had voted their money in war taxes, which made the poor; till, having now voted away the quartern loaf, they now proposed to solace them with a roll. The Duke of Athol was sorry to hear language, which, instead of being at all *conciliating*, was quite exasperating. The Earl of Blesington disagreed with Lord King in every thing, except as to the insufficiency of the sum granted. He had to regret, also, that an *extent in aid* should *unfortunately* have been just served upon one of the distressed dis-

tricts. The Marquis of Downshire regretted that the measure was to be but a temporary one. —Lord Liverpool doubted very much of the propriety of the measure; and thought the sum sufficiently large until he could see his way clearly as to the application of it. We agree entirely in opinion with his Lordship, and such doubts have we with regard to the application of the sum, we certainly would not have granted one single farthing for any such purpose. Even as to the private subscriptions there will be jobs enough; and what then are we to expect of the grant of public money to be laid out, do what you will, in whatever manner the Irish landlords choose to lay it out? Yet Lord Darnley could hail the present Bill as a new and joyous era in the history of Ireland! A new era! Does his Lordship think, then, that we are to continue to grant money to Ireland in this manner, or rather, to the Irish Landlords? We are quite certain that the thing will be found to yield no relief to the people at all; and yet Lord Darnley could think that the present measure, or any measure that would afford employment, ought to be adopted. Now mind what a figure this measure makes in conjunction with the extent in aid mentioned by Lord Besington. There is an Irish county, seized upon by the Government for taxes; and here are fifty thousand pounds out of the taxes, voted by that Parliament which causes the taxes to be imposed and raised, for the relief of that very same county; so that, here are the tax-gatherers taking from the people with one hand by

force, under an extent, and there are the Parliamentary Commissioners going cheek-by-jowl along with them to distribute a dribble of money out of those taxes in the way of relief! Such a scene as this was certainly never witnessed in the world before. This is a new era, not only for Ireland, but for the Universe. —It came out incidentally that the Marquis of Downshire (he said it himself) was a large proprietor of Irish tithes; but his Lordship did say, that he should be *happy to make a sacrifice on the altar of conciliation and peace*. Let his Lordship act up to that declaration; let the sacrifice be a real one; and let others follow his example, and then the lot of Ireland will be mended, indeed. But, by sacrifice, we understand, the giving of something up. The abandoning of a part of the tithes, at least; and, indeed, the total abolition of them where the population is Catholic, and such a reduction of taxes as will leave the people some of the wheat and the meat, and not reduce them to a miserable existence upon stuff barely sufficient to keep a poor pig alive. We must take occasion to observe here, that *The Morning Chronicle*, quoting from his favourite "*Scotsman*," too, has, at last, joined us in reprobating the encouragement of the practice of *cultivating potatoes as food for man*! What, then, at the end of nearly twenty years, we have these very able publications ranging themselves on our side as to this subject of potato eating, which has earned us such monstrous heaps of wishy-washy trash poured forth at us both by friends and foes. Our Irish friends, in

particular, extremely partial in other respects, have been constrained to dissent from us with regard to the use of potatoes. Starvation in the midst of plenty; starvation amidst over-production; the hideous howl of famine in the potatoe part of the kingdom, while a proposition is made to the Parliament to take corn into pawn on account of its superabundance, seems to have brought people to their senses; seems to have made them reflect a little; and the Scotsman is not only now right, but right upon our own favourite ground, namely, that the facility of raising this species of food, its nearness to the mouth, the absence of care and of foresight and of preparation that exists as to this species of food, are evils, and not benefits, as they have always been represented to be.—To return, for a moment, to the Debate, Lord Liverpool, in noticing what Lord Downshire had said about the intended measure relative to Irish tithes, observed, that that measure must depend on other measures which remained to be brought before Parliament. And that, if those other measures were agreed to, relief might ultimately be granted. This was very much in the oracular style. That is to say, it was very *dark*. We do not know what those other measures may be; but we are satisfied that no measure with regard to Irish tithes will be of any avail without it include their abolition.

In the House of Commons the Carcass-butchers of White-chapel, by the hands of Mr. Alderman Wood, presented a Petition in favour of the Bill for punishing the ill-treatment of

cattle! Since Six-Acts have been passed, we dare not laugh at any thing said or done in-doors; but we must take leave to observe on the singular humanity of these butchers, who complain that they are great *losers* from the carelessness of servants and cruel driving of cattle from Smithfield to the slaughter-houses! “*Read and laid on the table.*” Where we hope it will not lie long; for, amongst our distresses, we ought to have a little fun, and, of all things, we should like to have this Petition at full length.—Much has been said and enacted, about bringing the Parliament into contempt; but what sort of a thing is it, if it be to be called upon in this way to pass laws to save the butchers the trouble of finding, in the expense of paying, trusty and obedient servants? What would be thought of a Petition from the Housewives of any town or parish, who should pray to have legal punishment inflicted on their maids for not milking their cows clean, or neglecting to feed the poultry? We know a boy who wants constant watching to make him feed pigeons and get in clover for rabbits; and why does not his master petition the Parliament to pass laws to punish him for these acts of cruelty? After what we have seen, however, of this petty legislation, and of the innumerable attempts to extend it, we shall not be at all surprised to see a petition from some one or other to punish maids for laying a-bed too long in the morning, or for breaking the glasses and china in playing with the footmen. It is perfectly monstrous to see such matters brought before the legislature of

a kingdom; and particularly at a moment like the present.

Something was said, and very sensibly, by a Mr. Robertson about the effect of the *Navigation Bill*, but the Report of the Bill was brought up and agreed to, and is to be read a third time next Thursday, when, if it pass, the first blow is given to the *Navy of England*. It is no matter, however, what they do; for, without a Reform of the Parliament, the country must sink; and, perhaps, it is destined to undergo that before it be restored to its former liberties and happiness. This Bill is so much in the way of giving up security and honour for the ready penny; and this is the great characteristic of all the measures that have been talked of. We must observe here that the news from America to the first of May, inform us that the Americans, as owners of the Floridas, have taken possession of an Island in the Gulph of Mexico about the size of the Isle of Wight, having a good harbour for shipping, and calculated to become a rendezvous for other Navy in those seas. That is the rising, and this the falling, country! A few years will make a prodigious difference in the relative situation of the two. Stride after stride will the former take. Let war once more show its face, and let this Parliament remain unreformed, and we shall begin to get a glimpse at the depth of our degradation.

The Assessed Taxes are to undergo an alteration, such as will excuse from the Riding-horse-tax farmers, whose farms are at a rent under two hundred pounds a-year. As far as this goes, we

very much approve of the measure; for it is perfectly barbarous to make a farmer, who may rent, perhaps, not more than thirty or forty acres of land, pay as much horse-tax as one that may rent a thousand acres; and that, too, perhaps, for merely riding one of his cart-horses to market. To market he cannot go without the horse, nine times out of ten. As to two hundred pounds a-year for a farm, however; such a sum will not be paid in all England, in a short time. It is true that this regulation, as well as all others of the kind in the present uncertain state of things, may or may not be of any use; but we approve of it in the principle. We should approve of it, or any thing in the same way, if the country were paying only about twenty millions of taxes a-year, which is much about the sum that it ought to pay, if any remnant of the debt be to be preserved. Large farms are great evils generally speaking. They should be graduated. A few large; many more very small; but the main part varying, according to the soil and situation, from two hundred to fifty acres of tillage and pasture land. This makes great numbers of happy; it leaves a comparatively smaller number of rich and of poor. If a Government cannot proceed by direct means to produce and to render permanent such a state of things, it cannot do it by indirect means, which are always the most salutary and the most efficacious.

The Welsh Judicature was before the House; but nothing worthy of particular notice, except a declaration of Mr. Scarlett, that, for the last three years, the

business had by no means increased in the Court of King's Bench, intelligence which we gladly communicate to our readers; for we wish to God that for the next three years there were not to be three briefs held by any of the lawyers of that or any other Court. We dissent from Mr. Scarlett, however, in thinking, that much of the matter brought before the Judges ought to be left to the Justices at the Quarter Sessions. Those Justices have become terribly powerful of late years. We do by no means wish to see the business augmented in that species of Court. The twelve Judges we know; but we do not know those who sit at the Quarter Sessions. We hear of the Acts; we hear of the sentences; but we do not know the names of the Judges. Every crime should, if possible, be brought before the twelve Judges, or one of them. No man in his senses, and that had a love for justice and fair play, ever wished to see the administration of justice lodged in the hands of local Judges. It must be manifest to every one how dangerous this is.—Justices of the Peace, were never until of late authorized to inflict sentences to any considerable amount of punishment. We have seen Joseph Swann, who had already suffered three months of imprisonment, sent from the Quarter Sessions of Cheshire to a prison for four years and a half under three indictments, two for selling pamphlets, and one for being present on the hustings at a Reform Meeting; without being charged with having spoken a word at that Meeting. We do not agree with Mr. Scarlett that the place

of the Judges ought to be, in the smallest degree treached upon by Justices of the Peace.

The *Police of Ireland* took up a small portion of time. This word *police* is quite a new word in our country. It never was heard of till the Anti-Jacobin crusade was begun. And now there is a Bill, it would appear, for investing the Government of Ireland with the appointment of even the *constables* all over the country. Mr. Peel calls this an introduction of the ordinary English law into Ireland; though it is well known that the appointment of these inferior officers of justice is purely local in every part of England. Constables are appointed by courts-leet; by copyholders, in some cases; by freeholders, in other cases; by parish vestries, in other cases; sometimes by corporations, and sometimes by the possessors of feudal rights and tenures; and yet not one single constable in the whole country appointed by the Government. But, alas! for poor Ireland. Here, in England, there is a mass of good old stuff, so strong and so tough as for the new fangled notions imported from the Continent never to tear quite to pieces. We say never, for do what they may, there will always be enough left of this stubborn stuff to prevent us from becoming downright slaves. This stuff has in its very nature a spirit of resistance never to be entirely overcome. That which is assailing it, and has long been assailing it, will itself crumble to pieces, before the work of complete tearing to atoms shall be accomplished. In this, indeed, consists the only security that the

country has for not being brought down to be the most contemptible country upon the face of the earth. But in Ireland there is none of this stuff. There the miserable, the starving people, lie prostrate, without the possibility of being placed in a better state, except by some great change to be accomplished in England.

MAY 25, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, Lord King said, that there was a rumour in circulation, that, as the grand scheme of contracting for the pensions and half-pay had failed, it was intended to put up *each individual to be bid for by the Jews*; and his Lordship said, that he wished for explanation. The Minister declined giving any.

In the COMMONS were under discussion, *Licensing Public Houses*; Petition of Mrs. Bowditch relative to *Judge Best* (very important); the *Waterloo-loan* scheme, and *Repeal of Taxes*.

We must defer our remarks on the two former until Monday, though the petitions of Mr. Meek on the conduct of the *Licensing Justices*, and that of Mrs. Bowditch on that of *Judge Best* are full of interest, and of the greatest importance to the kingdom at large.

The *Waterloo-loan* scheme and the *Repeal of taxes* claim, however, our first attention. First, as to the loan-scheme, we will endeavour to explain the *curious* thing to our readers, whose time, we are bound to presume, is much better employed than in wading through those pools of muddy stuff, upon the subject, that it is, unhappily for us, our duty to

fathom. Be it known, then, to this taxed and bewildered and bebothered country, that the Ministers have what they call a *Sinking Fund*. Be it also known, that this "*fund*" consists of *five millions* (as they say) of taxes *over and above* what are wanted to pay interest of debt and other expenses of the year. Well, then, said the landlords and country in general, what do you raise these five millions *for*, we being in such distress, and so much oppressed by taxes? The Ministers answer: We must have the sinking-fund, in order to *support public credit and national faith*.—In fact, this is so much money raised in taxes, and laid out in the Stock-Exchange annually, in order to *keep up the price of stocks*; so that it is just so much given to the fundholders *over and above their interest*. Yet, this is *necessary* to the Ministers; for, if they had not this in their hands, they could not *work* with the funds as they do, and could not carry on the system; the Fund THING would crumble down, and a *Reform* would follow.—Yet the cry for *reduction of taxes* was to be, somehow or other, a little stilled if possible.—Now, how to do this, and, at the same time to have the five millions to *play with*, was the question; and this question gave rise to the present scheme.—The Ministers said, *here*, in these military and naval pensions and half-pay, and other allowances to retired clerks and so forth, growing out of the late war, we have a "*dead charge*" of five millions a year. Now we will call this "*a debt*," and not an *annual expense*. And then we *fund this debt*. They

could get no *contractors* for this debt; and, therefore, they have now proposed, to mould it into *annuities* to be sold by *Trustees* appointed for the purpose, who, in case of want of sale of this new stock, are to have *Exchequer Bills* issued to them to make up the deficiency. Thus you see, it is a *loan* in time of peace; a borrowing of money under this poorly disguised form, for the payment of this "*dead*" or *Waterloo* charge, in order to enable the Ministers to keep the five millions to *play with*, and yet to *pacify* the landlords a little by the taking off of some taxes! This is the whole of the scheme. As to its *retarding* the operation of the Sinking Fund in its work of *paying off the debt*, that is brutal nonsense. That *humbug* never *paid off* a farthing, and never can. It was a mere delusion from the very beginning; and, if any man can read "*Paper against Gold*" without being convinced of this, he must be an idiot indeed. Mr. Alderman Heygate said, last night, "that the Sinking Fund was established in 1786 by the joint efforts of Dr. Price, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; names quite as *illustrious* as those of its present opponents, and the idea was now adopted by *America* and the Governments of *Europe*." Sir Francis Burdett and his Lavalettes and toad-eaters could talk loudly enough at a public-house the night before; but, there were none of them ready to expose this *mistake*, this *gross error*, this delusive statement of Mr. Heygate. The Americans use the name of Sinking Fund; but, what is theirs? Why, it is this: they raise a certain sum

every year, over and above their expenses, and they, with that sum, *pay off* so much debt; and there is an *end* of that part.—For instance, if the principal of the debt amount to 100, and they raise *five*; the debt, next year, is only 95; and they have *interest* to *pay only* on 95. Now, is this the way with our THING? Do we ever *pay off* any thing? Do we ever *diminish the interest* to be paid? Does the debt ever require *less taxes*? Oh, no! Ours is a mere shuffling of the cards; a taking out with one hand, putting in with the other; a changing from *unredeemed* to *redeemed*; and no *diminution of charge* does, or can, take place by the transaction. Now, this difference between our Sinking Fund and that of America ought to have been explained. The delusive notion ought not to have been suffered to go forth unexposed; and, if not for *this*, for what are these big tavern-talkers in Parliament?

So much for the *Waterloo-scheme*. Now let us see what is to be done in the way of *Repealing Taxes*, which, be it observed, is made *dependent* on the success of the *Waterloo-scheme*; that is to say, unless the House adopt this scheme, there is to be no repeal of taxes. Why, to say the truth, *the people* need not care a farthing about the scheme, or any other scheme, so that taxes be taken off. The Ministers may borrow as much and as long as they please, so that they take off the taxes. They may loan out the Civil List, the whole of the Navy and Army, and the Fundholders also, if they like; and they may do it with as much sense as they have done this.

They may fund the funds; and we are very likely to see this done at last. They may "throw the burden forward-upon posterity" as long as they like; and posterity may pay, if it choose, so that we now be eased of the taxes! Posterity (of more than two or three years hence) will certainly, we think, not choose to pay; but, that is no matter. Let posterity judge and act for itself. Our business is to get rid of taxes: to get the hands of the tax-gatherers out of our pockets.—Mr. Hume proposed, that the annuities should be bought by the managers of the Sinking Fund! To be sure the thing is not more farcical now than it would be then; but, it was not worth while to thwart men disposed to take off taxes! Let them have their humour; and, if the scheme tend to prolong the humbug a little and to throw a little powder in the eyes of Jerusalem, it does not signify to us. The taxes are to be reduced, and though in a very small degree, it is something. The tax on salt is now 15s. a bushel.—It is to be reduced 13s. Half the Leather Tax is to be taken off. The Window Tax and Hearth Tax in Ireland are to be taken off. And also the Tonnage Duty on ships. This will, they say, make a reduction of 2,000,000, which, together with the reduction of Malt Tax, will make three millions and a half out of about sixty millions, which is much about a twelfth part of what ought to be taken off, and what must be taken off, if cash-payments go into full effect, in order to enable landlords to get the rents that they got in 1792!—Yet, it seems; that the "boon," as Mr. Curwen

called it, produced the greatest satisfaction in the House. Lord Castlereagh was delighted with the "happy faces" that he beheld; and said, that he was enjoying one "happy evening at any rate!" Never was there a severer or more just piece of ridicule bestowed in this world. Member after Member got up to express his "gratitude," really as if the thing had been an *alms* bestowed, out of pure generosity or compassion by Castlereagh and Co. We must however, do Mr. Ricardo the justice to say, that he treated these expressions of gratitude; these symptoms of *humility*, to which we would give quite another name if it were not for Six-Acts; these bursts of the overflowing hearts of the "Country Gentlemen;" Sir Francis Burdett's "Gentlemen of England," (one of whom called it a "*boon*," and another an act of "*kindness*;") we must do Mr. Ricardo the justice to say, that he spurned at all this with becoming indignation; and that he had the good sense and spirit to observe, that he could discover no ground for *gratitude* in the people, because a small portion of their own money was about to be left in their pockets. And, can any man discover why all the Salt-tax is not taken off, unless it be that a part is left in order to keep on the *taxing people*? The same question applies to the Leather Tax. Apart is kept on; and, of course, the *taxing people* are kept on! The grease of the wheels of the machine remains. Mr. Vansittart, when speaking of the 2s. tax on the salt that would now be paid by manufacturers, said, that as all penalties and restrictions would be

removed with regard to them, these were equal to more than the 2s. tax. Why not take the whole of the tax off then? Why not get rid of the salaries of the tax-gatherers, and send these fellows to *work for their bread*? Oh, no! Mr. Bennet said, what we said some weeks ago, that it would be better to take off the whole of one tax than *part of two*, though, in the former case, a *less amount* were taken off; because by *abolishing a tax*, you got rid of the tax-gatherers and of all the inconvenience, expense, and monopoly, that a tax, however small, is always sure to create. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that in taking off the *Leather-tax*, he must see that the public had the benefit of it. But, how can this be, as long as the *harassing tax-gatherer* remains? Malt is now about 7s. a bushel and barley 2s. 6d. The tax is 2s. 6d. But, take off *all* the tax, and malt will be 2s. 6d. instead of 7s. So that 2s. a bushel to the consumer is added by the expense, the *harassings*, the *delays*, the *advances*, the *risks* which the tax, and the tax alone, imposes on the maltster. However, this is amongst the natural consequences of a want of a *Reform of the Parliament*. The employment to *innumerable tax-gatherers* makes part of the present system. If you get rid of the taxes, the gatherers must be kept up. If there were laid before the public the names and original places of abode of all the excisemen, we should see how prolific certain *snug boroughs* have been in these "*public servants*." Ah! this the root of all the evil and of all the danger.—As to the Ministers, however, we must say,

that they are no more to blame than any other persons who do not desire to see the *House of Commons reformed*. If the present system of electing Members to be in that House is good; then it is good to keep on foot and in public pay all those who are now kept; for, and we defy any man to show the contrary, it is, without such means, impossible to carry on the present system of electing those members; and this is "as notorious as the sun at noon-day."—Go into any of the sinks of corruption in Devonshire and Cornwall, or in any other part of the kingdom. Talk a little with the shy, half-hanged looking villains that you find there. You will soon see that the miscreants destine no son to *honest labour*; you will soon see that they think of nothing but the means of sucking the blood of the country, under some pretence or other. Ask them for their vote, and the first thing the bare-faced monsters do, is to ask for some of your *own money*; the next is, to ask you to get some of the *money of the public*.—Now, for this, the root of all the mischief, the Ministers are no more to blame than Sir Thomas Lethbridge, Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Curteis, or any other of those, who want taxes reduced, and those who do not want reform; and, though such an outcry has been made about the ground on which Lord Castlereagh defended the second Postmaster-General, his conduct was more open, more fair, and far more consistent than that of Lord Normanby, who moved for the abolition of the office, and who must know, that, if the ground he took were generally acted on, neither he nor any

body else would have the honour to represent Higham Ferrers.

MAY 27, 1822.

HOUSE OF COMMONS (Friday last). We wanted room on Saturday for the commentary, which we wished to make on what passed on the subject of the *Licensing system* as relating to public-houses; on the petition relative to Judge Best; and on the *Petty Legislation*.

As to the former, Mr. Bennet, who is carrying through a *Bill* on the subject, withdrew that provision of the Bill, which made it imperative on the Magistrates to grant licences. His reason was, that this provision would injure the private property of the brewers; that is to say, would put an end to their monopoly of beer-selling; an objection, in which, we dare say, the bright and patriotic Member of Middlesex would heartily join, and to which objection the junior Member for Westminster would scarcely find any reply, seeing that his worthy father, the Commissioner of the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, is a partner in the house of Whitbread and Co. Ah! simple Electors of Westminster and of Middlesex! Little do you seem to know about the wheels, pegs and wires belonging to that ingenious machine called "*Purity of Election!*"—It is very clear, that, if the absolute discretion be left in the Magistrates, the Bill of Mr. Bennet will be upon a par with Mr. Curwen's *Election Bill*. There is one consolation indeed; and that is, that the Bill will not pass into a law. But, to allege as a reason for not proposing the provision, that it would endanger

a monopoly, was what we did not expect from Mr. Bennet. At this rate scarcely any tax must be taken off; for all taxes on articles of food and drink especially, tend to create a monopoly in the dealers in the things taxed, as we observed in our last paper with regard to malt. What, then? Must we always pay taxes on beer, lest the brewers should be injured? Does not Mr. Bennet know too, what a precious instrument this granting of monopolies is in the way of politics? A great fuss is made about the corrupt influence of offices, places and pensions; but, does this influence exceed that of the *Licensing system*? The thing would be much better let alone than be handled in the way that Mr. Bennet is now handling it. Pope, who was a little crooked man, exclaiming to an unreasonable hackney-coachman, "*God mend me!*" as was his usual practice, Jarvis replied; "*God mend you!* God would make a dozen new ones with less trouble." And this we may truly say of the *Licensing system*. This, as well as almost every part of our Thing, which surrounding nations so much envy us, and which the world so much admires, are in a condition that makes it an even chance, that in the stopping of one hole, two are made. We must, however, confess, that we should like to have Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Hobhouse's opinions as to the putting an end to the monopoly of brewers! Ah! simple electors of Middlesex and Westminster, little do you even yet know of all the benefits of "*purity of election!*" Begging the reader's permission to wander a little here; was it not curious that Sir Francis

Burdett, at the late celebration of Rump-Purity, should criticise a speech of Mr. Canning, made a day or two before at the Humbug called the Literary Fund, when, at that very humbug, Mr. Canning's health (with a lofty panegyric) had been given by Sir Francis's *colleague's father!* Ah! simple "Citizens," little do you know of the profits of "*purity of election!*" At the Rump-Humbug there was in the chair Sir Francis, the incessant assailant (as far as *tongue goes*) of Canning; and there was *his protégé*, Mr. Hobhouse, second in importance; and at the Literary Humbug there was this man's *father*, living in the same house with himself, *toasting and extolling Canning!* Then, again, there was, at the Rump-Humbug, Nord Nugent, a son of the Duke of Buckingham! Oh! simple "Citizens," pray do not any more cry out against *rotten-boroughs*; for, in this whole kingdom there are no inhabitants of rotten-boroughs less free, in the true sense of the word, than you are; or, if you *be* free, no rotten-borough acts a part so inconsistent as you. Be you assured, that *none*, no not *one*, of these men wish for a *real reform* of the Parliament. Can the son of the Commissioner of Arcot's Debts, who lives in the same House with the Commissioner, *wish for a Reform?* Can he wish for it, who pushed this son forward to thrust away Major Cartwright? Can they be in *earnest?* Oh, no! But, the thing will come *in spite of them*. They thought, that the machine would *roll on* for ever! and that they should have a snug birth in Westminster for their natural lives at least;

huzzaed by you all the while for their "*opposition*," to the very thing that they wished to remain firm as a rock. They will be deceived. Peel's Bill, that honest measure, will baffle and confound all the schemes of the tricksters of "*Purity of Election*."

JUDGE BEST.—There was a Petition presented by Mr. Hobhouse from Mrs Bowditch, praying the House to inquire into the conduct of Judge Best.—Lord Castlereagh deprecated all reflections on the conduct of the learned Judge. He said, "the House would agree with him that the character and dignity of the Judges of the *land* should never be *unnecessarily* assailed." Very true, mild and gentle and humane Lord Castlereagh. Not unnecessarily; but if Mrs. Bowditch had been ruined by a prosecution, whilst the perjured witnesses found means to escape, it might not be unnecessary to *inquire* into the circumstances of the case; or at any rate, if such a case did not call for inquiry, what case ever did? It is curious enough that whenever there is a complaint made about the judges, they are called "*the judges of the land*;" that big-sounding appellation is given to them. Of the land or of the sea, if petitions are presented against them, the cases ought to be inquired into; or, if their character and dignity are to be supported by *refusal of inquiry*, then what becomes of that standing "*Grand Committee of Justice*," which, according to the rules of the House, is to sit every Wednesday of every week. Mr. Wynn thought the Honourable Member ought to have given the Learned Judge notice of his intention to present the petition; that

the latter might have had an opportunity to request the Member to give some *explanation*. What! and is that all? What business had Mr. Hobhouse to tell the Judge any thing about the matter? Are notices given in this sort of way to persons who are about to be prosecuted in any manner? No: the regular way was to present the petition; and Mr. Hobhouse stopped very short, or will stop short, in our view of the matter, unless he move for the petition to be taken into consideration in some shape or other. He does not appear to have moved even for its being *printed*; so that Mrs. Bowditch knows, we suspect, already, pretty nearly the full extent of the benefit of the right of petition.

The *Cruelty to Cattle* Bill was put forward for a second reading by Mr. R. Martin, when the Attorney-General moved that it should be read that day six months! Mr. Martin complained of the Attorney-General for doing this without assigning reasons; but the former persevered, and a division actually took place, when there were 18 for the Attorney-General and 29 against him! The thing had a narrow escape from the fatal shears of the Attorney-General; but it will not escape next time. We are not much in the habit of extolling members of the Administration, and perhaps what we are now going to say may give Mr. Martin a lift; but, we must say, that the Attorney-General showed his good sense upon this occasion; and that we trust he will persevere; and that, too, without assigning reasons, of the danger of doing which, Mr. Wynn, we think, gave him a

specimen, by assigning as a reason, that the Bill was an *inroad* on the law of England. The Attorney-General, who remembers *Six-Acts*, Sidmouth's *Circular*, and the new *Poacher's Law*, and who has not forgotten the Bill of *Pains and Penalties*, knew a great deal better than to assign reasons like this for his opposition to the Bill.

MAY 31, 1832.

IN neither House was there, last night, any thing that we deem worthy of particular attention, except the great Bill of the great Mr. Canning seems to have received its warning of *death*, in the House of Lords. It was *spoken to*, as the people, who believe in *tokens* and *apparitions*, call it. The Duke of Portland, who brought it forward, wished to postpone it *without time named*; but, the other side held his Grace up to the mark, and the 21st of June was appointed. The *Old Times* (always a prophet *after the event*) informs its readers that the Bill has had its *fate* pronounced, which fate it was made acquainted with by the Statesman the very day after it was proposed in the House. No such Bill will ever be carried without a *Reform of the Parliament*; and we are extremely deceived, if the Catholic Peers would like to recover their seats by any such means! Though they have no seats of their own in the Upper House, they have many of those *valuable things*, which are of a nature too *delicate* to be named, lest we bring the occupiers of them into contempt; and, strange as it may appear to our readers, we hesitate not to give it as our decided opi-

nion, that they would be very sorry that the Bill should pass. We have only to add, that it is curious enough, that the most bitter *enemy of reform* of the Lower, should have been the parent of this Bill for reforming the Upper, House. However, the thing, as we said from the first, was a matter for *talk*, and for nothing but *talk*.

JUNE 1, 1822.

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, a whole crowd of petitions against the *Catholic Peers' Bill*. The petitioners from Exeter having called it Canning's Bill, Lord Holland observed on the impropriety of their conduct in this particular. We ourselves can see no impropriety at all in it. It is giving the thing a name, *Canning's Catholic Bill*. Circumlocutions are bad things, except for the purpose of evading the provisions of Six Acts and the like.—Nothing material took place in this House; and the far greater part of what passed in *tother* place, though the topics were numerous, and some of them of an extremely humorous character, we must be silent upon until Monday; and here we have to acknowledge the wisdom of divine Providence in giving us one day out of seven of exemption from the reading of what are called Parliamentary debates. There was one topic, however, which was on foot last night, which we must not pass over, even for a day; we allude to the *Poor Law Bill* of that celebrated personage, Lawyer Scarlett.

Our readers will recollect, that the Lawyer brought in a Bill last

winter, we mean last year, of most sweeping and tremendous tendency. It was to check the disposition to marry in the labourers; and to refuse all relief, if the party were able to work, whether the party *could find* work or not. The effects which such a Bill would have produced, we have now before us; we have, at this very moment, before our eyes, in the situation of the Irish: with this exception, perhaps, that it is greatly to be doubted whether English labourers would have died of starvation by thousands in the streets and highways; whether they would have had the commendable patience to wait for relief to come to the survivors from the generosity of those who dance at splendid balls in dresses covered with diamonds. The people of England are rather more of a philosophizing people; and we think it about ten to one that, upon such an occasion, they would have entered into an inquiry of the probable proportion of those diamonds, which had been purchased with the money, which had been raised in taxes; which taxes must, according to the opinion of the agricultural reporters themselves, necessarily tend to deprive the people of their comforts. When the English people had read of the magnificent dress in which Lord Castle-reagh appeared at that ball, they would have been very apt to make commentaries upon that dress, and to have traced it backwards till they came to its original cause. Happily, however, all this disagreeable philosophizing was prevented by a rejection of Mr. Scarlett's sweeping Bill. This year, therefore, the Lawyer has

left out the two great provisions of his Bill; that relating to *marriage* and that relating to a *refusal of relief*, and has confined himself to that provision which contemplated the *preventing of a forcible removal* of paupers from parish to parish. The first thing to be observed is, that this part of the Bill could, by no possibility, be fitting, unless accompanied by a refusal of relief to persons able to work; for is it not clear as daylight, that, in the present state of things, numerous parishes might be totally ruined by bodies of men and women, marching from place to place, and going to demand relief in whatever spot they might be directed to by caprice or by chance. A thousand objections, *in the present state of things*, might be made against this Bill.—Mr. Scarlett went back to the forty-third year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to show that at that time there was no power of removal.—But Mr. Scarlett seems wholly to have overlooked the vast difference that must exist in this respect when the Government taxes amount to *sixty* millions a-year, in place of about *one* million a-year that they amounted to in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. At Farnham the other day, where Mr. Cobbett had just been endeavouring to explain to the gentleman of his native town and neighbourhood, the manner in which the government taxes produced pauperism and poor-rates, a gentleman present, from the parish of Frensham, in the county of Surrey, put into his hands a paper, being an account of the receipts and disbursements on account of the poor of that parish, in the

year 1682; that is to say, six years before the glorious Revolution; and twelve years before the beginning of Judge Bailey's great national blessing, the *Funding System*. This account of receipt and disbursements, made an exhibition as follows:—*Twenty-five pounds, some odd shillings*, collected; *eighteen pounds some odd shillings* expended, upon three old widows; and *seven pounds some odd shillings* left in the Overseer's hand. Thus, then, eighteen pounds, or thereabouts, was the annual expense of the poor in the parish of Frensham, at the end of about one hundred and forty years after the Poor Laws had been begun, and at eighty-one years after they had been established in the Act of the 43d of Queen Elizabeth. In all this time the Poor Rates of the parish of Frensham had got up to only 25 pounds a-year at the utmost; and (hear it, ye advocates of the Funding system!) they amounted, last year, to *fifteen hundred pounds*; that is to say, to sixty times as much as they amounted in 1682; and you will also find, that Government taxes have increased in much about the same proportion.—Away, then, with all the talk about remedies for high poor-rates. Away with all this talk; unless the remedy be, a reduction of the general mass of taxation. Where there was one pauper when the late king came to the throne, there are now from twenty to thirty paupers: and yet, we have been celebrating jubilees; we have been boasting of glories; and what is worse than all the rest, we have been told for the last forty years, that the prosperity,

the increasing prosperity, the boundless prosperity of the country, was a proof of the excellence of this present mode of returning members to Parliament, and a complete proof that that Parliament did not stand in need of Reform. In spite, however, of the yells of the tax-eaters; in spite of the lies spread about by the promoters of Religious Tract Associations; in spite of all the humbug, of all the Rumps, and all the other sham-Reformers, the people are beginning to see the thing in the *true light*. The Gentleman who put the above-mentioned paper into the hands of Mr. Cobbett, at the Dinner at Farnham, had found it amongst some papers of his great grandfather. He had, we dare say, recollected how frequently it has been said in the Register, that we Reformers wanted nothing but to be as well off as our great grandfathers were. This paper had struck him, we suppose, as a proof of the justice of that sentiment; and he had put it in his pocket in order to apply it to the use to which it was applied. This is the useful information; these are the sort of things that we ought to keep in our eye; and we would advise Lawyer Scarlett, if he should ever again bring forward any subject of this kind, never to move a step in a statement relative to the amount of poor-rates without carrying that amount in one hand and the amount of the Government taxes in the other.—The Lawyer's motion upon this occasion was, for the *second reading* of the Bill. Lord Castlereagh complimented him, and observed, that if the Bill should not pass at this time,

the Lawyer would deserve the thanks of the country for bringing the subject before it. We thank him; for if he had not made his motion, we might not have had the opportunity of making these remarks.—There appears to have been whole cart-loads of petitions against the Bill, and not one for it.—Numerous objections were made to it; but the Lawyer, clinging to his Bill, said that the alterations suggested might be adopted in the *Committee*. Committee, indeed! The House knew better, at any rate, than to suffer this thing to go into a Committee, which could only have prolonged the agitation and set the pauper carts to work all over the kingdom, in the way of precaution against accidents. The House knew better than this, and therefore, though the Lawyer was getting into a state of preparation, it would seem, for nicely splitting hairs in the Committee, the House, by dividing, declared that this famous Bill should not be even read a second time. And thus this mighty effort of the Lawyer comes to a close, without even the delightful dalliance, the half a life-time of effort belonging to those not less amusing but far less mischievous measures proposed by Dr. Phillimore, Serjeant Onslow, Mr. Macintosh, and so many other Lawyers, for the benefit of the next or some future generation. As to the *Education Digest* of Mr. Brougham, we were in hopes of having it fairly before us this year; but we are again disappointed; and, the slaves of Africa seem to have stepped in to occupy that place in the worthy Lawyer's mind which was before occupied by those dear children

and those dear old dames who we thought had become the sole objects of his care.—As to *Poor Laws*, however, and as to a potato-eating population, the House have the Irish labourers at present too fully in its view for us to be at all apprehensive that it will rush heedlessly into any new projects upon those subjects.

JUNE 3, 1822.

IN our paper of Saturday, we noticed the melancholy fate of *Lawyer Scarlett's Bill*; but we did not notice fully the scene that preceded its final extinction. A whole flock of petitions came on it, from all parts of the House, the moment the sitting began. Then some other business interrupted them for half an hour. Then came another flock of petitions.—Then the *Leather Tax* came on for a while; and then a dreadful flight of petitions again about the *Lawyer's Bill*. Next came the *Bank Charter*; but, nothing could, for long together, check the flocks of petitions, which kept falling on the carcass of a poor, dying horse. Even Mr. Brougham's speech about the *Slave Trade* could not stop the thing; and, at last, Mr. Williams (a brother Lawyer too) observed, that, "if his *Learned Friend* were not suffocated under the petitions, he had more life in him than any man that he ever knew." Yet, after all this, the Lawyer really talked of the Bill going into a *Committee*! The Bill was extinguished, but the mere chance of its passing has done a great deal of mischief, and caused

a great deal of cruelty. Many families have been removed, that never would have been removed, and a great mass of injury inflicted. However, let us hope, that here will end the Lawyer's Projects of this sort.

Mr. Beaumont, in speaking of *agricultural distress*, said, that the *abatement of rents* was what was wanted, and a *new modelling of the poor-laws*. This gentleman may as well say nothing about the latter, and the former will *abate themselves* in due time. If he will but let the thing go quietly on, as it is now going, there will very soon be nothing in the shape of rents, and that which was called rent will be taken, as is most justly due, by the fundlords, the army, the navy, the placemen, the pensioned people and the numerous bands of *Waterloo*. We think the change will be much for the better. We have an opportunity of seeing many of the fine fellows in *scarlet*; and happy we are to see them so jolly and so beautifully dressed. What taste must those have, who do not prefer sights like this to the spending of rents upon a parcel of stupid fellows in top-boots and ash-sticks in their hands! And besides, "a bargain's a bargain." If these top-boot men had *Waterloo*, they have to *pay* for it. The army is, we thank God, no longer wanted to keep down "the *Lower Orders*," who are, in England at least, doing pretty well now. The army and the yeomanry seem now to be wanted, if at all, for quite another class of persons! Oh, how just is this! The numerousness of the army is, with Peel's Bill in force, of no consequence

to the common people. It takes rents and tithes and applies them to the feeding and clothing of five young lusty fellows, who might otherwise be on the parish. And, as to *Waterloo*, or *Dead Charge*, the copper-heeled and whiskered gentry that belong to it, and the widows and children, are, to the main part, of the "*Lower Orders*," and all the pensioned solders and clerks must be. So that, as long as the pay of these come out of *rents* and *tithes*, the thing *works well*; and out of tithes it must come while Peel's Bill is in force. To that bill, therefore, we owe the fair prospect of seeing that complete payment of the *reckoning*, which is due from the landlords and the parsons. These will be *small* men, in all cases when they will not be *extinguished*. As they become poor, their *power* will become less. Their grasp will daily grow more feeble. We shall see them as *mild* and as soft-spoken as newly-married men, in the course of another year. We have heard of many cases where they have already begun to return the bows of the farmers; and we have every reason to hope, that, as their hunters pass into the possession of Jerusalem and Waterloo, the lot of the people at large will be mended. We agree with Mr. Beaumont as to the necessity of *abatting rents*; but, we are quite willing to *leave the business* to Peel's *Bill*.—And here we must acquaint our readers, that the Anniversary of this Bill will be celebrated this year (and, we hope, every future year) in London by a Grand Dinner for the express purpose. It will, we understand, be, this year,

held in the great room at the *Horns at Kennington*, on the *Second of July*, the memorable day of the passing of the Bill. Mr. Cobbett in the *Chair*. This is, we think, due to Mr. Peel and the great and blessed measure that bears his name. Here there is nothing of faction, of malcontentment, of disaffection, or even of *party*. It is a thing in which all must join with the same noble *unanimity* as that which gave birth to this great national blessing. The Bill was passed, that is to say, it became a *law* on the *Second of July*, in the memorable year 1819, the year of the *Manchester affair* and of *Six Acts*. It is proposed, we understand, to drink but *one toast*, "*Mr. Peel and his Bill*." The room will exhibit, it is said, devices in honour of that gentleman; and we hope, that the *Muses* will not be asleep upon the occasion.

Mr. Brougham, on the subject of West India trade, complained of the continuation of the *Slave Trade* by *foreigners*, and said, that a part of the *distress* of our West India planters was ascribable to that cause. What does this mean? We wish gentlemen would speak out plainly. It means this, that the *French* and *Spaniards*, by means of continuing the *Slave Trade*, raise more coffee and sugar than they would otherwise raise; and, of course, that the market for our people is not so large. And, therefore, Mr. Brougham wishes our Government to *interfere*, and to use its *influence* with the *allied powers*. It has no *influence*. France and Spain do not care a straw for it. France and Spain

know well that it cannot hit a blow heavy enough to knock a child down. And as to that *justice*, of which Mr. Brougham talks so much, France well knows, that to put a stop to the Slave Trade was *solely for our benefit*. We had destroyed the plantations of France, while our own were in the highest perfection; and all the treaties for abolishing the slave-trade tended to keep down the French plantations, while ours were flourishing! The French know all this very well: they knew it before: before they could not set us at defiance: now they can. The simple question, is, will you go to war, Mr. Brougham, to put a stop to that *foreign slave-trade* which is lowering the price of Jamaica blacks and Jamaica sugar? If you be not prepared for war, it is quite as sensible not to let foreign nations see how mortified you are at their prosperity and your distress. This slave-trade abolition as to foreign nations was a *deep* scheme; but, like many other of the deep schemes of the THING, it has *failed*.

On the 19th of June Mr. Brougham is to submit a proposition to the "*House*" respecting the *increase of the influence of the Crown*. God bless the man's head; what can this be for! What end can it answer? Is Mr. Brougham ignorant of the facts, which are, "as *notorious as the sun at noonday*?" It is not, Mr. Brougham, the influence of the *crown*, but the influence of *Winchelsea, Peterborough, Higham Ferreirs, Knaresborough, Appleby, Calne*, and the like, that has increased with the amount of the taxes and the number of

offices, pensions, and so forth. Let us get rid of *this* influence, and that of the *crown* will not be a bit too much. There is not a single *sane* person in this kingdom, who does not now see to the very bottom of this whole matter; and who is fool enough to be gulled by any of those notions about the *power of the Crown*, with which the hunters after place used to delude the people. Do not even idiots see, that the Crown has no means but what comes to it *through votes of the House of Commons*? It is there, then, that we have to look, and not to the Crown, for that influence which Mr. Brougham is pleased to say he will make a motion about. Peel's Bill is the only remedy. A motion to *protect* that, if necessary, is the only thing to be done in the way of putting down undue influence.

JUNE 4, 1822.

NOTHING in the LORDS worthy of particular attention; but in t'other place a good many topics of an interesting nature, which topics we shall notice in the order in which they followed each other during the night.

LICENCING SYSTEM.—A petition was presented from a man in Norfolk, who had been ruined by having his licence refused to be renewed, in consequence of the *interference of the parson of the parish*. When will something be done to prevent this description of men from meddling with *every thing*?

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—Mr. Coke presented a petition and remonstrance from the Hundred

of North Greenhoe in the county of Norfolk, complaining of taxation and praying for Reform. This appears to have been a stinger. The complainants give a strong picture of the harassings and cruelty of taxation; and complained that "the produce of that taxation was lavished to obtain corrupt majorities in that House; majorities, which, at all times, were willing to support the measures of any Minister, however corrupt and tyrannical; and to oppose every motion that had for its object to lessen the burthens of the people." They further stated that "the produce of the taxes was also employed to keep up a military force in time of peace, solely for the purpose of subduing the constitutional spirit of a justly indignant people; and that the petitioners looked with abhorrence on the nominees of the Peers and other Borough proprietors sitting and voting in that House, against the liberties of the country, against the real interests of the Crown and of the people."—The remark above all others to make here is, that this remonstrance comes, not from radicals; not from jacobins; not from manufacturers in the north, who are accused of being misguided by demagogues; but from the "owners and occupiers of land" in that county of England which, above all others, is famed for its skill in agriculture and for the great masses of property collected in the hands of the occupiers of land. It comes from a county that feeds itself and several other counties into the bargain; it comes, in short, from men who

have immense quantities of property at stake, and it speaks now precisely the same language that was spoken by a million and a half of reformers in 1817, who, on account of this very language, were accused, by both Houses of a design to *destroy all property*. Mr. Freemantle opposed the receiving of this petition. Mr. Curwen defended the petition, and said, that it could not be denied that seats in that House were bought and sold. If the House wished to preserve its dignity, he said, the way was to remove the causes of imputations, the truth of which could not be denied.—Mr. James very sensibly observed that the petition was in error where it stated that money was squandered to support the *influence of the crown*. It was not to support that influence, he said, but to support the influence of the Borough faction. Castlereagh said, that the petition was not only in the tone of remonstrance but of insult. Mr. Calcraft and Sir R. Wilson supported the petition.—Mr. Wynn (another of the Grenvilles) opposed the petition, and said that its allegations amounted to justification of a rebellion; and that if the facts alleged were true, *what business had the House to sit there?* Now, Mr. Curwen had positively asserted that the facts were true, and so had Mr. Coke. So that we may leave this question of Mr. Wynn to be answered by those who, with Six-Acts before their eyes, dare venture upon giving the proper answer. Sir John Newport went a great way in *logically* establishing the allegations. Mr. Peel said, that if they were to be told that that House was filled with a parcel of place-

men and pensioners, who met there for the purpose of supporting a system of taxation and corruption, there was an end of the privileges of the House.—Mr. John Smith (Carrington)

“ Now to this, now to that side, leaning,”

said the petition was right and that it was wrong; but that, he wished the petition to be received. It was finally rejected upon a division, there being 69 against it and 55 for it.—But then Mr. Coke came on again, with a petition from the county of Norfolk itself for Parliamentary Reform. He said that, after the rejection of the former petition, he could hardly suppose that that which he was now presenting would be received by the same persons. This petition, after giving a description of the House of Commons, still stronger than that given by the former petition, had this passage, which the Reporter says was received with loud cheers:—“ Any Minister who is “ base enough to assist in carrying on such a system of Government deserves the execration of every honest man, “ as a traitor to his Sovereign, “ and an enemy to his country; “ the safety and the glory of the “ Crown of England resting not “ upon a rotten system of corruption, but upon the uninfluenced support of a free, enlightened, and loyal people.” Yet, this petition was ordered to lie on the table and be printed, without a single voice being raised against it.—Thus, then, the counties; the occupiers and owners of land, are at last brought to see that their only chance of preserving any part of their property is,

in adopting measures agreeably to the prayers of those worthy objects of the famous Imprisonment Bill of 1817. The fact is this; the landlords and farmers now see that the mass of the people will never consent to a reduction of the interest of the debt, unless that mass be previously restored to their rights; they now see, that they must lose, the one their capital and the other their estates, unless the people have their right of voting at elections. This is what puts them in motion. And a very justifiable motive it is. The people on their side; and particularly the Reformers in the North, had resolved some time ago, to petition this same House no more; but, circumstances must alter opinion; and we are of opinion that the Reformers of the North will find it wise to join the owners and occupiers of land in petitioning for Reform when the Parliament shall meet again. If we should have the pleasure of seeing another meeting for Reform upon Portsdown-hill, we shall not see, we imagine, yeomanry cavalry corps drawn up in the valley, prancing about and brandishing their swords. If the petition agreed to upon that Hill in 1817 had been listened to, the great number of farmers that have been totally ruined would not have been ruined; and the great number of landlords that have already lost their estates would not have lost those estates. As an argument for passing the terrible Imprisonment Bill of 1817, Sidmouth told the Lords that he had submitted all the cheap publications of a certain description to the Law-officers of the Crown: and that he was sorry to say that

he could find nothing in them to prosecute with a chance of success! There is not a just man in England who does not bear this in mind, and make the cause of the writer aimed at his own. Well! These cheap publications; those publications that Sidmouth was sorry were not criminal in the eye of the law; those publications, the legal innocence of which was made an argument for the passing of that terrible Bill, inculcated the same truths that are now thrust into the teeth of the Parliament by the owners and opulent occupiers of the land; only the inculcation was in language infinitely more measured and less offensive to the pride of the Parliament. Let no one in future have the folly and the baseness to talk of *Lower Orders*. In all times and in all countries where great and salutary changes have taken place, *the labouring classes have led the way*. The historical truth of this assertion, as well as the causes of this being the case, were laid fully before Lord Grey in those three letters addressed to him in the *Political Register* in the fall of 1820. His Lordship was then told, that no change of a good tendency had ever had a beginning except with the labouring classes; and it was predicted there, that if the farmers saved a remnant of their capital, and the ancient families their titles and a remnant of their estates, they would owe that salvation to the exertions of the labouring classes. His Lordship must now, we think, be satisfied with the truth of all this. He must see, and we are sure that he does see, that unless the labouring classes obtain their rights, and that to

their full extent, too, there will speedily come on such ruin, such trouble, such turmoil, such confusion and uproar, that all must go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks, agreeable to the memorable prediction of the *Register* in 1817. We, for our own part, know, and know well, what is felt and what is thought, and what is wished for, throughout the whole of the kingdom of England and Scotland; and we are perfectly satisfied, that if the Borough men do not give way, and that, too, in a very short space of time, they, above all others, will have to lament their blind and long continued obstinacy. If any of them imagine that they can deceive the people by Tavern Dinners and big talk, they are very much deceived themselves. It is not the bubble of despicable Rump Committees that intrigue for hire to get the sons of tax-eaters thrust into the House, and call it purity of election! It is not any humbugs of this sort, or any empty vapour about Lavalettes and the Greeks and the devil knows what! It is not this that will satisfy the people, who want to see as their representatives a set of men chosen by themselves, men of sense, of industry, of zeal, and animated by a feeling which would constantly make them set every thing at naught, when compared with the happiness, the safety and the greatness of their country. This and this only will satisfy the people, and with this and nothing short of it they ought to be satisfied, for without it the country must be a miserable heap of ruin, and become an object of insult and of scorn with all the rest of mankind.

The other topics of the night (for night it always is) we must reserve until to-morrow.

JUNE 5, 1822.

We left unfinished the proceedings of the night before last. The House proceeded in the Bill for reducing the *Salt Tax*, without any alteration in the plan proposed before; namely, the taking off of thirteen shillings a bushel duty. It then went on the new Corn Bill, which admits corn to be imported, when the average price is seventy shillings a bushel. There was long debating and bickering about the matter; but, at last, it was left at seventy shillings a bushel; and the House adjourned after admitting a clause (for future discussion) to allow of the *grinding of foreign corn*. This clause was proposed by Canning. We hope it will be adopted, notwithstanding the source from which it comes; for we are very sure that the far greater part of the flour will be first or last, consumed in England; and cheapness is what we wish to see. The *Waterloo Loan Bill* was before the House; and Mr. Hume proposed that the Loan should be taken by the *Commissioners of the Sinking Fund*. This was rejected as coming from Mr. Hume; but Pascoe Grenfell moved a clause, that if those Commissioners should think it expedient to deal in the *Waterloo Annuities*, they should be permitted to do it; and this clause (hear it, ye thinking people of England!) was *adopted*. So that, here are the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund actually paying off debt with one hand and increasing it with the

the other; and all the consequence to the nation is, that it loses the amount of the charges of managing these matters; that the Stock-jobbing crew have a greater field to gamble in; and that the rest of the country are exposed in a greater degree to the tricks and frauds of the cunning tribe of Jews and Jobbers.

Last night, there was, as usual, little done in the House of Lords, and nothing worthy of our particular notice.

In the Commons, the greatest part of the time was spent in a debate about the *Criminal Law*. Suffice it to say of this, that the motion was for doing of something next Session of Parliament; and we will bet Sir James Macintosh any thing that he pleases, that nothing is ever done in that business as long as the Borough of *Knaresborough* shall return two Members to Parliament; and we would further bet, that in this respect, Sir James Macintosh is of our opinion.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS was again the subject of petitions and of remarks, and Sir Thos. Lethbridge took as usual (of late) a very sturdy part in the discussion. He complained of the *indifference* of the Ministers to the sufferings of the country; and said that the Landlords and Farmers had but *one alternative*; and that was to consider how far they were bound to sustain burdens, *most unjustly imposed upon them*.—Castlereagh complained of this diurnal declamation, and said it was calculated to have an *inflammatory effect*. Oh, gracious Heavens! Here is the old charge against us radicals, preferred against the stanch Pittites and high Aristos-

crats. How long have we been foretelling that this would be the case! How positively, in 1817, while they were accusing us of inflammatory language, did we tell them that the day would come when they must act according to that language, or lose their estates. We tell them now, as we have told them a hundred times, WE know how to serve their estates; to make them as secure as their forefathers' were, *without a single act of injustice to any human being*. But, we tell them, too, that we will not tell them how it is to be done. If they be saved, to our shop they *shall* come, and they shall come, too, in at the front-door!—Sir Thomas Lethbridge, in another part of the debate, said, that “the measures of the Government were insuring the success of “Reform. They who never “thought of it before were compelled to think of it now.” He said that *he himself, was quite a convert to it*, and that he was convinced that the landed interest would never meet with justice, till it had more influence in that House.—Sir Thomas Lethbridge, put your case thus: Those that are *not Borough-men*, have not power sufficient in their hands; a Reform of Parliament would give the rest of the community a greater degree of power: the rest of the community have an interest in the reducing of taxes, in seeing rents duly paid, farmers keep their capital, and labourers receive a sufficiency of wages. State further that, to preserve the estates, it is necessary to reduce largely the interest of the debt, and the expenses of the army; and without a Reform, which

shall make the people pull with the Landlords, and so quiet as to require no army to keep them down, these measures for preserving the estates are absolutely impossible to be carried into effect. This is your case, Sir T. Lethbridge. We are glad to hear you say that you are a convert to Reform, and we care not whether you take our plan or that of Lord John Russell to begin with. We are very sure that even the householders, if they were once freely permitted to vote, would soon scatter to the winds all bribery and corruption, whether coming from the bare-faced villains who openly deal in the commodity, or from the greater, because hypocritical villains, who carried on their trade through the cajolery of Rumps.—During this debate, Sir F. Burdett made his appearance. He was convinced that the distresses of the country proceeded from the *ignorance and incapability of ministers*; a cause very different from that which he has stated upon many former occasions. He complained of the effect of Peel's Bill, and he was answered in a manner which another opportunity will offer for noticing more particularly by Mr. Peel; who, we must confess and have no grudge in confessing, has, throughout, acted in the fairest and most manly manner.—We were sorry to find Mr. James making a very material mistake. He observed that it was *iniquitous* to pay the public creditor interest upon the full amount of his loan, which had been contracted when the paper was depreciated so as to make a pound worth only fourteen or fifteen shillings. We beg leave to point

out to Mr. James, and we do it with very great respect, that he is here adopting that very error of Mr. Ricardo, which he himself, sometime ago, exposed in so spirited a manner. It was not twenty or *twenty-five* per cent that the money was depreciated in 1810 and 1811. It was a *hundred and fifty* per cent. The difference between the price of the *paper* and the *gold*, was no criterion at all. It was the value of the currency in general, compared with the price of the produce of the earth, that ought to have been taken as the standard. Mr. Ricardo said, in 1819, prices will fall only three or four, or four and a half per cent., because, said he, that is the difference now between the price of *paper* and of *gold*. The fallacy of this has been shown a hundred times over, and particularly in the first of Mr. Cobbett's three late letters to Lord Liverpool; and experience has proved most amply; has caused to be written in the fate of thousands of ruined farmers and their families, the truth of this doctrine. Mr. James has heard the notions of Saint Horner and of those stupid things, the Edinburgh Reviewers, repeated so often, that he has adopted them involuntarily in spite of his own better understanding. He should recollect that, by the notion which he now puts forth, the calculations of *Granny Muschett* are fully justified, and the fundholder has yet to receive a good many dividends before he will have his due. Sir T. Lethbridge's, however, is the true path. Let him keep in that path; let only one Country Gentleman in every county follow the same path, and let them call upon

the *geomany* to second their efforts, and we shall have every thing settled in a manner that will restore the people to their rights, and preserve the estates to the Landlords.

JUNE 6, 1822.

We omitted, in our last, to notice, that, from a short observation of the Secretary to the Treasury, it appears, a clause is to be introduced into some one of the *hundreds of thousands of acts*, passed or to be passed, to authorize the selling of the "*vegetable powder*" by any persons, who do not deal in *cocoa* or *coffee*. Just as if *wheat* or *rye* were *vegetables* any more than *coffee* or *cocoa*! There seems, on all hands, to be great reluctance to call the thing by its *real name*. It is *breakfast-powder*, or *vegetable-powder*, or any thing but the real thing. To call it *roasted wheat* or *rye* (*rye is best*) which costs, on an average of the two, only *three farthings a pound*, would be so *vulgar*! The fact is, however, that those of the people, who do not **DESERVE TO STARVE**, buy the grain, and roast it themselves. The rye makes a drink so much resembling coffee in taste and smell, only much more wholesome, that those must merit starvation, who do not use it in preference to coffee; and, what a lazy devil it must be that will not, once a month, take the trouble to roast half a dozen pounds of grain. Does any one think that a *reformed Parliament* would take the duty off *coffee* and *tea*? They certainly would not; but would be much more likely to double it.

These things and spirituous liquors ought to be taxed most heavily; for it is the duty of every Government to watch over the *health* of the people.—The great Doctor, however, for this evil is, to take the tax wholly off *malt* and *hops*, and suffer people to make a quart of good beer for about a *halfpenny*.—That is the Doctor that would drive away all the quackeries of “*vegetable powder*” and all the grinding of *beans* to put amongst foreign coffee, and drying of *ash-leaves* to put amongst tea, which are now carried on to such an extent. Ash-leaves will destroy the grass and other plants on which they feed and rot; and, a very strong decoction of them would, doubtless, *poison* almost any animal. Tea, and some sorts of it in particular, is little less deleterious. A cat is said to have nine lives, but we know an Apothecary that took them all nine out of one cat by a decoction of tea; and we are quite convinced, that one half of the ailments that make young women look *sallow* and that shorten their lives is owing to their drinking of this stuff, which is a quite sufficient check to an increasing population without the aid of any such projects as those of *Lawyer Scarlett* or *Parson Malthus*.—By-the-by, these projectors cut a tolerably ridiculous figure just at this time. The Irish, who have no *Poor Laws*, and who live upon *potatoes*, are *starving*, while the nation is in *distress* from *superabundance of food*! We hear, that there are some of the corrupt and profligate and cruel wretches, who come over annually from Ireland, who ascribe the present starvation to a *surplus popula-*

tion. *Miserables!* How comes it, then, that *thousands upon thousands of quarters of corn* are coming to England from Ireland at the very moment when the Irish labourers are starving? Let them answer this question, or hold their brazen tongues about surplus population.

Last night (for *night* it was) there was nothing in the *Lords*, at all worthy of our notice.

In the *Commons* the report was received on the Bill relative to the “*vegetable powder*.” We have nothing to say upon it; but merely to caution our readers against being deceived by those fine names that this Bill seems to tend to give currency to. In Norfolk, in Surrey, in Sussex, in Hampshire, in Berkshire, in Hertfordshire; in short, wherever we have been, we have seen the roasted rye flour made use of for this purpose. The grain itself does not cost more than a halfpenny a pound, and the whole expense of a pound is not more than *one penny*. If it had been called rye flour from the beginning, there never would have been any prosecutions or any fuss about the matter. We are still afraid, that if the *THING* goes on, some tax or other will arise out of this term “*vegetable powder*.” At any rate, those, as we said before, who do not deserve to starve, will never pay ninepence, tenpence, or a shilling a pound for coffee, while with a very little trouble they can have a better thing for a penny a pound. In a great town, where to get the raw materials is not so convenient, and where there are not the same conveniences, perhaps, for roasting, people in ge-

neral must purchase the thing ready roasted and ground; and, of course, the manufacturers and dealers must have their profits as in all other transactions in trade. The thing is left open to fair competition. There is no tax, and can be no monopoly; and where this is the case, every one has a right to charge what price he pleases. But, speaking as economists upon the subject, we repeat that it must be a lazy wretch indeed who has the conveniences and who will not take the trouble to grind five or six pound of wheat or rye once in a month.

IRISH CROWN LANDS.—It is not the grand field days in the House of Commons that ought to be most narrowly attended to. Short notices, and little things that scarcely occupy a line in the reports are frequently of the most importance. Thus a Bill was brought in last night, and without a word being said about it, *read a first time*, for the "*sale of quit rents and Crown-lands in Ireland.*" This is a matter of far greater importance to us than any Bill about *Aliens*; yet this occupies in the reports only *one single line*, while the debate about *Aliens* occupies six whole columns. Here may be, for any thing that we know to the contrary, a transfer from the public of as much real property as would go to the paying off of a very considerable part of the National Debt! Could we sit silently in that House and hear leave given to bring in such a Bill as this, without first having before us a very particular account of the several parcels of property; of the real value of each parcel;

and without inquiring very strictly indeed into *who were to be the sellers*; when and where and how the sale was to take place; and, in short, could we have the impudence to call ourselves guardians of the public purse, if we left unsifted into any one circumstance, however minute, relating to a transaction so well calculated to awaken our vigilance and to impress us with the necessity of active performance of our duty? However, *we shall see how this thing goes on*; and we shall also see whether the Bill be suffered to go through without any elucidation of the subject!

The Irish Insurrection Act is, it appears, to be *renewed*; that is to say, a power is to remain, where the authorities think necessary, to shut the people up in their houses from sunset to sunrise, and to authorize a Bench of Justices of the Peace, with a Sergeant at Law amongst them, and *without trial by Jury*, to condemn people to *transportation*; and as our readers have seen in all the public prints, a man was lately condemned to transportation for being out of his house fifteen minutes after the time limited by the Act. Yet Lord Archibald Hamilton, Sir John Newport, Mr. Hutchinson and others wanted an *inquiry* into the state of Ireland. What inquiry do we want more than the simple fact of the existence of such an Act? Does not *one word* describe the state of the Irish; and who is so stupid as not to know what that word is? Indeed two words may be necessary; that which we have alluded to and *starvation*; or else those who describe the state of

Ireland are the brazenest liars that ever moved a tongue.—What more do we want, then, in the way of inquiry? Mr. Hutchinson called upon the Ministers to *put their shoulders to the wheel*. The wheel, indeed! They have put their shoulders to the *wheel*, or we are very much mistaken. And a pretty heavy wheel the Irish find it we fancy. It is the wheel that makes all the trouble. But Mr. Hutchinson wants them to devise some *effectual means* of securing peace and tranquillity to Ireland. Mr. Hutchinson may be well assured that no such means will be devised, until the Parliament be really reformed. And it is quite as well to say nothing about the matter, until the blessed Bill of Peel shall have produced that reform.

Ilchester Gaol — Sir Francis Burdett moved for the production of the gaol journal, which Mr. Peel objected to, because the the gaoler was under prosecution. Mr. Brougham seemed to concur in this opinion; and recommended the withdrawing of the motion which was accordingly done.

THE ALIEN BILL for another two years was brought in by Mr. Peel and sanctioned by a division of one hundred and eighty-nine against ninety-two. The object of this Bill every one understands; and when we see Lawyer Scarlett opposed to it, we are inclined to think that any opposition that we can give, wholly uncalled for. Lord Stanley too, *could not sit still* and hear something that Lord Castlereagh said in defence of this Bill. Bearing in mind what Lord Stanley said about the Grand Juries, and about the imprisoned Reformers in Lanca-

shire, we do not think it incumbent upon us to join his Lordship in opposition to the Alien Bill; about which we think much less than we do about *Six-Acts*. We wish with all our hearts, that the country was in such a state as naturally to keep all the mongrel tribes from our shores; though we by no means approve of the *motive* from which this Bill first arose and from which it is continued. At any rate, it is a matter of not a millionth part the importance to us, as is the Bill for the sale of quit rents and Crown lands in Ireland. There was a Mr. Horace Twiss made a figure upon this occasion, in defence of the Bill; he said, "it was *idle* to say that this measure was introduced solely for the purpose of gratifying foreign States by giving up obnoxious characters. Who could for a moment *credit* such an assertion? Who would *waste the time* of the House in endeavouring to refute it? But supposing this to be the case, where was the *immense evil* arising from it?" Mr. Lawyer Horace Twiss appears to be of the true breed and to be upon the true scent; but he comes a little *too late*: the THING will not be what it has been, Mr. Horace Twiss.

JUNE 7, 1822.

Nothing was done in the Lords; and in t'other place, only 36 Members out of the 658 having come to the place, the Speaker adjourned the House till to-day. —As far as we can judge, the House cannot separate in the way of prorogation before the end of a month, or six weeks yet to come; because there are Bills be-

fore it, which must be passed before the prorogation take place. We suspect, indeed, that one object is, to wait a bit to see how things go, before they separate. The difficulties of the times are very great. Declarations like those of Sir Thomas Lethbridge and Petitions like those that come, and are coming, from the Yeomanry in the county of Norfolk, have a tendency to make even empty-headed and brazen-faced men a little cautious how they move. There are some landlords, we understand, who are not disposed to lie quiet with their arms close to their sides, where the Borough-men, first covering them with slaver and laying their feathers close, swallow them as a snake swallows a hedge-sparrow. The Borough-wretches, profiting themselves, more than ever, because what they suck up as the price of their corruption will go three times as far as it went before; the Borough-wretches gain by that change which makes them lose their rents. They and all their numerous relations and dependents are *fattening on the spoil of other landlords*; for whom, therefore, they have no more feeling than an old worn-out bundle has for the young strumpet that he whips.—Not so sure, however, Borough-men! Make not so sure of your mark. There are yet some landlords of considerable fortune, who, before they march out of their estates, will give you a rally, at any rate. The little landlords may, perhaps, rally round these; and the yeomanry, and farmers, that most suffering class of all at present, will to a certainty join any landlord that will put himself

forward like a man to save the remnant of his estate; for in saving that, they must save the remnant of their own capital. There is one thing, which ought to be constantly kept in mind; and that is, that the interest of the Borough-men and that of the Jews are closely and indissolubly bound together. It is impossible to touch the Jews without a Reform of the Parliament, and that works the Borough-men.—These two, therefore, will cling fast together; and, if the other landlords and the yeomanry and farmers suffer the thing to go on without an attempt to save themselves, devoured to the last man they must be. The Jews would, at last, devour the Borough-men; but that would be no consolation to the other landlords and the farmers, if these were devoured first.—The way for the other landlords to go to work, is, to make solemn and public appeals to the yeomen and farmers of their several counties; to lay before them a plain statement of their danger; to do this generally, and through the means of the press. Then, to go in person to the several market-towns, to dine with them, to talk to them; to make every individual see clearly the pit of ruin that is open before him; to give them time to reflect on this; then to visit them again, and have the signature of every man of them to some document in the way of declaration, remonstrance or petition, expressive of their opinions and their intentions. Not in neatly-mouthed terms, not in the language of beggary, trepidation or cant; but in language becoming men who wish to save, at once, their families

from ruin, and their country from confusion and disgrace.—If this were done in only one county; and that the very smallest county in England, it would be done in every county immediately, and then we should see what a figure the Borough-men and Jews would make!—At the same time, care should be taken to bind up the labouring classes in manufactures as well as in agriculture, in the same band with the independent landlords and the yeomanry and farmers. Care should be taken to show how it is that the labouring classes have been degraded into the state of paupers by the Borough-men and Jews. Sidmouth's Circular, the Power-of-Imprisonment Bill of 1817; Six-Acts, and innumerable other contrivances, have prevented, or greatly checked the circulation of this useful knowledge amongst the labouring classes. They have, however, read, in spite of all the national schools and granny schools and canting Tract Societies; they have read enough to know what it is that makes the pot of beer fivepence at this time, instead of being good and strong for three halfpence. They have read enough to know why they cannot live half as well upon ten shillings a-week as their forefathers lived upon six shillings a-week. They have had a fair "*peep into the Den*;" but, care should be taken by the independent landlords, if they have a mind to save themselves, never to separate their cause from that of the labourers, both in manufactures and in agriculture, and to show these labourers that, though they do not now suffer so much as they did, they may still suffer a great

deal less by making common cause, with those who are, now, and who always ought to have been, their friends. Care ought to be taken to show, that the poor-rates are not a cause of oppression to the landlord or the farmer, but the effect of the other taxes; and, in this way, and in all sorts of ways that will occur to the mind of an independent and spirited landlord, the whole of the community, except the tax-eaters, may be made unanimous in an expression of their opinions and of their decided intentions. This is what we recommend, and if there be any landlord (right in all other respects) but who is still weak enough to say that going from market-town to market-town to dine with and to harangue the farmers, is to follow an example already set by an individual who is no landlord at all, all that we can say is, that such man is too feeble-minded to be of any use in any capacity whatever, and that he is wholly unworthy of receiving even necessary nourishment, except in the way of alms.

JUNE 8, 1822.

IN THE LORDS there was, last night, for a wonder, some little debating; but it was all about religion.—The Duke of Newcastle presented a parcel of petitions from Nottinghamshire, against Canning's *Catholic Bill*, and he took this opportunity of observing, that this was one of the most crafty and jesuitical measures ever introduced. Surely his Grace did not mean to say that Mr. Canning is a Jesuit. The Irish honest of this gentleman as their countryman; he attended the last St.

Patrick's dinner; and we watched him there when he said something which looked very much like claiming a family connexion both with England and Ireland. But we, at any rate, really did not look upon him as a Jesuit. We always knew his Bill would be lost, and were always pretty sure that he knew it, too. But we did not think that it would be called absolutely a jesuitical measure. However, that the Bill will be lost is very certain; for, as we said before, it is a question of *tithes*; it is a question of stuff to eat and drink, and to dress fine and to make merry with; not a question of conscience, or of any thing of the sort. If the Catholic Peers be admitted, so must Catholic Commons, and then *follow Catholic Priests*; and what earthly pretext can there then be for appropriating the tithes, which were first granted to Catholics to be devoured by Protestants? If this Bill were to pass, we must very soon leave the people of Ireland to choose their own rectors and vicars; and if it ever comes to that, either in Ireland or in this country, we think the chances decidedly in favour of a Priesthood, unincumbered with wives and families. Give both fair play, and the Catholic Priests will beat their opponents to a certainty.

Lord Dacre presented petitions from a couple of parsons, who had had long strings of questions put to them by the Bishop of Peterborough (*Marsh*), who explained so fully the meaning of the evidence of *Barbara Krantz*! The Bishop has, it seems, rather better than four score of questions down in print, which he sends to all those Curates or Cler-

gymen that apply to him for licences to act as Ministers of the Church. These two petitioners, or the first, at least, had given long dissertations in answer to the Bishop, in place of a Yes or a No. The Bishop said, that the answers were *perplexed* and *ambiguous*; and, thereupon, he refused the licence requested of him.—We, had we been in the place of the petitioner, would have desired the Bishop before he called upon us for an answer to eighty-seven questions; to give something like an answer himself, to his Catholic opponent, Doctor Grandolphe, who beat him out of the field, and made him scamper for shelter to the strong fortress of Acts of Parliament. Lord Holland, who, we were sorry to perceive treating the thing in a manner far too serious, made one good observation, namely, that the Bishop *judicially* restricted his examination to *curates* without interfering with *men presented to livings*! This was a very good remark. Lord Dacre complimented the Bishop on his learning and character. The Bishop wrote a Pitt pamphlet in favour of the prosecution of the war against the republicans of France. And we can say of that pamphlet, that it was a heap of the most stupid stuff that ever fell from the press. In the Pension List delivered in 1808, this Marsh stands for a pension of about seven hundred a-year; and if we had been the petitioner in place of the unfortunate curate, we should not have thanked Lord Dacre for the part that he acted. Lord Calthorpe was in favour of the petitioner; and Lord Harrowby was for having the petition received, though he did not wish to

support any further proceedings upon it. The Lord Chancellor consented to receiving the petition, but not in the sense of its attaching any blame to the Bishop. Lord Dacre then moved for a Committee to examine into the matter of the petition. — Lord Caernarvon called upon the Bench of Bishops to approve or disapprove of the conduct of their Right Reverend Brother. They remained silent, however, and the motion was negatived by a large majority. — The fact of the case is this, there are a parcel of men that some call *Evangelical preachers*, and some call them *Methodists* in the Church. These are a race more *industrious* than the others, who read their sermons and confine themselves to the mere form of the Church. The *Evangelicals* preach longer sermons, pray extempore, and bear a strong resemblance to the most stately of the *Methodists*. They are, in general, great favourites in populous places, where people are mewed up in small compass, and where they pose their brains in half dark rooms. They are favourites with the women, generally, whose hearts are more susceptible of pious impressions than those of the other sex. In short, they are gaining ground very fast. There are two opinions as to the effect of this upon the system generally. One opinion is, that by taking the *Methodists* in their own way; by fighting them at their own weapons; or, in other words, by making a church possess all the requisites of a *Methodist* meeting-house, the greater part of the people, and particularly the women, will be held to the Church, which is the most

commodious building, and which will, of course, be frequented by all people of best fortune and figure. — The other opinion is, that if the church go this length; if it adopt the *Evangelical* plan it must not stop there; that the *Methodists* will still keep a head, and that the church must follow; till, at last, all becomes rant and roaring nonsense; and that, therefore, it is best to make a stand now; to go on in the old dry way, and to trust to three things, the Law, the Tithes, and the general indifference of the men, in all the country parts particularly. — We, who own no tithes, can give a very impartial opinion upon the matter; and we must say, that though we laugh at Bishop Marsh's eighty-seven questions, we think that the *Evangelical* plan would soon tumble down the church, even if its temporalities were in a state of much greater security than they are. If we were disposed to enter into the question as a question of religion, we should be certainly on the side of the Bishop. It is his business to *examine* before he licenses. And we know well how strictly we should examine a candidate for a seat in Parliament if we had the power. If he be not to examine, then, indeed, he is a pretty licenser; and it had better be declared at once that he has nothing to do with the matter, and that any ranting, raving fellow may be sent to insult a parish with his nonsense, while the Rector is spending the amount of the tithes in London or at Paris. It has always happened, that when there has been great and imminent danger to the very existence of an establishment, the persons most deeply

concerned in that existence have been engaged in squabbles amongst themselves about some trifling circumstances in the mode of managing it. Thus, we see the Landlords of the kingdom busy as bees about the management and preservation of the partridges and hares that go to and fro, on or near their estates, while they have, for more than twenty years paid not the smallest attention to the laws that were gradually at work to take from them the estates themselves. And so it is in the case of the church. The church is built upon its revenues; and at a moment, when there may be great doubt as to the continuation of those revenues for only a few years, the persons most deeply concerned in the matter are disputing about nice points of doctrine and discipline. The dispute will, in all probability, be terminated in much about the same manner as that of the two mastiffs in the fable, which, at the end of the battle for a bone, found the bone carried off.

IN THE COMMONS there were petitions of Brewers and Publicans in Lancashire against any alteration in the *Licensing Law*. To be sure! They want no alteration in a law which compels the poor weavers to swallow what they please to give them, and at their own price; and we must say that those who do swallow it are very little to be pitied. The publicans in London, however, seem to be of a different taste; and after the treatment of Mr. Meek, well they may. We do not believe, however, that any efficient alteration will be adopted. The licensing of public-houses is too closely connected with the root of the

system ever to be materially altered, until a Reform of the Parliament shall take place.

Mr. Wynn's Bill for a new mode of electing Members in Yorkshire was thrown out upon a division; but it served to give Wilberforce, that friend of the blacks and that deputy upon the memorable message to the Queen, an opportunity of observing that it was a *happy* anomaly in our happy constitution, that some Members represented great counties, some great cities, and some small towns. He did not mention *Gatton* and *Old Sarum*, but, he doubtless, meant them amongst the small towns.—We are glad, however, the Bill was thrown out; but we are much more glad that the Landlords must now lose their estates, unless we have an efficient Reform of the Parliament.

The Irish Police Bill, that is to say, a Bill to put into the hands of the Government the power of appointing Constables as well as Magistrates, was opposed by Mr. Grant, Mr. Brougham, and some others.—Mr. Abercrombie said, that “he formerly heard” it stated that the Marquis “Wellesley had pursued the same plan of Government in India as Buonaparte did in Europe, and” he thought this Bill was not “calculated to remove the impression.” This does not square very well with that opinion expressed of the Marquis, at the beginning of the Session, by Sir Francis Burdett, whose confidence in the Marquis's liberality and humanity was so great, that he was eager to make his breast the repository of the tremendous power of martial law over the *Irish*! The Government are going

very far; but still, they stop very far short of the point to which Sir Francis was willing to come.

JUNE 12, 1832.

LAST night in the House of Commons, Mr. Western brought forward the following motion:—
 "That a Committee be appointed to consider of the effects produced by the Act of the 59th of George III. cap. 14, on the Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce of the United Empire, and on the general condition of the different classes of society therein, and to report thereon to the House." After some hours consumed between Mr. Western and Mr. Huskisson, the discussion was adjourned until this day; we shall therefore postpone our remarks on the discussion until to-morrow. In the mean while, however, we have something to present to our readers, which they will probably think of not less importance; namely, the

KENT COUNTY MEETING.

The report of the proceedings of this Meeting we have taken from the *Morning Chronicle*, and another morning paper. It is a mere sketch, as our readers will readily imagine when they are told that there was at least three hours and a half of speaking; and, as far as we have observed such Meetings, the speaking in general was of the best character usually employed upon such occasions. In the report in the *Chronicle*, there were some inaccuracies which we have corrected in our paper. To do justice to the speech, or rather speeches of

Mr. Larkin, would really not be an easy task. We have seldom witnessed greater ability or more neatness of delivery than we witnessed in that gentleman yesterday. Sir E. Knatchbull was alone. He had the load of unpopularity to sustain, and (a task which Demosthenes himself could not have performed) he had to apologize for the conduct of the Ministers and their supporters; and he had to do this single-handed. He did it, however, with a great deal of quickness and ingenuity. Feeling that it was not to the voice of the people that he owed his seat, he was bold, notwithstanding the very unequivocal disapprobation of a Meeting which he himself acknowledged to be the largest and most respectable he had ever seen in the county. Our readers, by reference to this report, will perceive that something of very great importance to the whole country was brought forward at this Meeting; namely, a proposition, in direct terms, to pray the Parliament to reduce the interest of the National Debt. This proposition, brought forward, not by the noble Lords and great Landed Gentlemen of the County; but by an individual almost wholly unknown, personally to the Meeting; possessing no influence in the county whatever, except that which he derived from the nature of the proposition itself, and a statement of the grounds upon which he made it: this proposition, thus brought forward, after a most ample discussion, which occupied more than an hour after the proposition was started; this proposition, twice put to the Meeting, and twice carried, unanimously, we may call it; for,

out of many thousands of persons, only about four hands were held up against it; this proposition thus declared to be the decided opinion and wish and prayer of certainly one of the most opulent counties in the kingdom, is, in our opinion, of far greater importance than any thing else that has come under our observation for many months past. Lions are not painters, said the lion, to the man in the fable: and, as we hold the pen and have the paper before us, which is not the case with other gentlemen who spoke at the Meeting, we shall not here take advantage of this circumstance to add to that which appears in the report, given in the morning papers, certainly with wonderful accuracy, if we consider the difficulties to be contended with by the gentlemen whose business it was to make the report. This only, which is common to all the parties concerned, we beg leave to press upon the attention of our readers; that the Meeting was of that character as to speak decidedly the *sentiments of the whole county*. Sir E. Knatchbull most unequivocally, though rather reluctantly acknowledged this, upon being called upon for the acknowledgment by Mr. Larkin. It was stated at the Meeting, that besides the Peers, the Peers' sons, and great Landholders who signed the requisition, there were 400 persons who signed it, owning, amongst them, 50,000 *acres of land in the county*. These were, doubtless, all or nearly all of them present at the Meeting; and, besides, the Meeting was very numerous, and there needed only to look at the persons pre-

sent to be convinced that the main part of them were persons of substance as to property. The very spot where they were assembled is one of the most fertile and valuable in the whole kingdom. There was no haste in adopting the proposition. Plenty of time to remove any fallacy or misrepresentation in the grounds of it, if the mover had made use of any fallacy or misrepresentation. Plenty of time for little knots of friends and acquaintances to consult each other's feelings. Sir E. Knatchbull, after the proposition had once been put and carried, having observed that some gentlemen near him had *not understood the question*, it was at the request of the mover, distinctly put a second time. A Gentleman who had seconded the motion, had, on account of some addition which he wished to have made to the motion being rejected by the mover, *withdrawn his seconding*. This gave rise to a somewhat critical examination into the meaning of every word of the motion. In short, never was a proposition more amply discussed, more closely scrutinized; and after all this, the Meeting, such as we have truly described it to be, decided that the prayer of this proposition was their prayer; and in thus deciding, they fairly and fully decided for one of the first counties in the kingdom. For our own parts, we know well that there is no relief; that there is no political salvation for this country, but in acting upon this proposition; and it was with great pleasure that we perceived gentlemen of large fortune and high character in the county ready to adopt the proposition as

their own. Mr. Foote, who moved the petition, was ready to move that this addition should stand a part of it. Mr. Darrell, jun. was ready to second Mr. Foote in this, as was also Mr. Rider, who seconded the petition. Here, then, the county spoke out honestly; and we trust that the gentlemen in Kent have set an example, that will be followed by the rest of the kingdom. There was little merit in making the proposition, which the mover well knew, as he observed, was the real wish of every man that wished well to the country. The merit belongs to the Meeting, and to those gentlemen of the county, who had the spirit and the honesty openly to declare by their lips that which was passing in their minds.

JUNE 13, 1822.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, last night, came to a decision on the motion of Mr. Western mentioned in yesterday's STATESMAN. The proposition of that Gentleman was for the appointment of a Committee to "consider of the effects" produced by Peel's Bill. —Mr. Huskisson moved, as an amendment, that the House should adopt a Resolution in these words: "That this House will not alter the standard of gold or silver, in fineness, weight or denomination;" and this amendment was carried at a quarter past three o'clock this morning, a hundred and ninety-four voices being for Mr. Huskisson, and thirty only for Mr. Western. For reasons that will be obvious enough to the reader, I shall here speak in the first person, and have first

to observe on an assertion of the *New Times* of this morning, that "Cobbett says, Mr. Peel's Bill must be repealed." My readers know, that, besides several articles with the same object in view, published in this paper, I have published two whole *Registers* since Mr. Western gave notice of his motion, one addressed to Mr. Western himself, and one to the Marquis of Lansdowne, showing the mischievousness and the wickedness that there would be in the repealing of Peel's Bill; so that the lying old hireling of the *New Times* bids fairly to surpass his rival of the *Old Times* in this sort of way. The same hireling, and in the same paper, quoting the addition which was made, on my motion, to the Petition at Maidstone, says it was on the motion of "W. Corbett." This is stated merely to show with what reluctance the pillaging and plundering vagabonds look at this Kentish circumstance. This old battered hireling could spell my name correctly enough when his object was to tell a wilful lie of me; but when he had reluctantly to record what was done by me at the Kentish Meeting, he could put in an R in the place of a B, to make his readers believe he was not speaking of the same person that he has so often and so basely calumniated. I should beg the reader's pardon for wasting time on these matters, if I did not think the public were much more deeply interested in them than I am myself.

Mr. Western's motion may, doubtless, have been well meant; but certainly, taking into view the objects stated in his speech, it was of most mischievous ten-

dency; I mean, as to the nation at large. It had a tendency to bring out the accursed depreciated paper again. It had a tendency to produce a new career of fraud; a new career of spoliation on the labouring classes; and it might have retarded a reform of the Parliament for some time, unless such reform (an evil which we must all deprecate) had been effected by violent means. This is not the place for entering in a critical way into the doctrines by which the motion was supported, nor into those by which it was opposed. Little more could be done here than to give a sort of history of the debate. Mr. Western appears to me; and, indeed, he always did appear to me, to be wholly unqualified for the task. A mind like his, would naturally seek a leaning upon what he had been reading; and, as it suited his purpose best, to go to Hume and Smith and Locke, instead of coming to my shop, he naturally got floundering amongst inapplicable theories, the reading of the extracts relative to which produced in the House that listlessness and indifference of which Mr. Brougham complained towards the close of the debate. Theories of money; Essays on the nature of money were unsuited to the occasion; and almost all that was said in the debate, had very little to do with the matter; though a great deal came out, which must be the subject of future comment, especially as it included the regular, set defence of Mr. Ricardo, who said that he was upon his trial; and who, as I shall hereafter have to show, made a defence, that would not have suffered the Jury to deli-

berate a moment without declaring him guilty.

The question was this, and simply this, is it now wise and just to return to a base paper-money and to declare that we never again can pay in gold? That was the only question; and I therefore think that Mr. Huskisson was perfectly right in his proposed amendment. Mr. Western went the wrong way to work. He should have considered that it was not for the interest of the landlord and the farmer that the base paper-money should be brought back. It is very true that the return to cash payments (as far as we have yet returned) has been the great immediate cause of the distress of the farmer and of the approaching ruin of the landlord; but, in no one instance, have I met with a sensible man amongst these farmers and landlords that wish for a return to the base and plundering paper. To say nothing of the innumerable acts of injustice that must be committed by such return; to say nothing of the downright robbery of recent lenders or recent purchasers of annuities; of recent mortgagets; of tradesmen, universally, who have debts in their books; of servants who have contracted for the year; to say nothing of these, every man that is not absolutely infatuated must perceive, that such a measure, must, in the first place, produce universal confusion; and that, in the end, nothing but a miracle could save the country from a bloody revolution. The wildest of all possible fancies seems to have entered into Mr. Western's head,—namely, that which entered into the head of

Sir John Sinclair, and old dunder-headed George Chalmers about twelve years ago, and into that of Webb Hall only the other day, that a nation is *prosperous* in proportion to the greatness of the quantity of its circulating medium; and that the more that circulating medium is depreciated the better. Sir Francis Burdett, who, by-the-by, has now discovered that Mr. Ricardo was *mistaken* in his standard of value, observed, and contended that *high price of corn would be most beneficial to the country*; and that he opposed the Corn Bill because he thought it would prevent high prices! Why, what wind blows now? It is notorious that he reluctantly presented the petition of his constituents against that Corn Bill. Whatever way he might vote, he said in the debate, that he was neither for it nor against it; and he took merit with the Jury at Leicester for having differed from the popular opinion on that subject. But what does the Baronet mean by adopting this doctrine of Mr. Western? Can he not see that it is the *relative* price of corn, and not the positive price, which we are to consider here?—It is the price of corn as compared with the outgoings of the farmer independent of rent, that was the thing to be dwelt upon here. The farmer, under one set of circumstances, may be as well off with wheat at half-a-crown a bushel, as he is, under another set of circumstances, with wheat at twenty shillings a bushel. But there appears to have been such blundering, from the beginning to the end, upon this subject, that to notice it all would fill a volume. Mr.

Attwood very justly and very ably characterized the past measures of the House and described the effects of these measures; but, while he was accusing Mr. Peel of neglecting, when he introduced his Bill, to state to the House the *evils* that it would produce, he himself was in commission of a similar act; for, not a word did he say about the *evils* that must arise from the measure proposed by Mr. Western, which was neither more nor less than the commission of all the robbery above-mentioned, besides depriving the country of all *standard of value*. Mr. Brougham said, that no man could be so "*moon-stricken*" as to propose to adopt *no standard of value*; but, though Sir Francis Burdett said, that "a *standard* regulated "by the *value of corn*, would be "perfectly *reasonable* and *practicable*," did the idea ever before enter into a head not (at times at least) under the influence of that planet? In bargains, in specific bargains between individuals, corn may very easily be made the measure of the amount of money-payments, the amount *varying* with the market-price of that particular commodity.—But, can this be done as to the transactions of a whole country? And, can it be called a "*standard*" too, varying, as it must from year to year, from month to month, and almost from day to day? Can this be called a "*standard*?" Sir Francis Burdett seems to have had some notion about the *Government* regulating and fixing the quantity of money to be in circulation; for he said that Ministers "ought to have a direct "control over the issues of the

" Bank, and not to suffer a single
 " note to be put out, or called in,
 " but by their direction." This
 is Mr. Wheatley's notion; and
 one more wild surely never entered
 into the mind of mortal man.
 Just as if the Government could
 be able to determine what quantity
 of money should be used in the
 country; and just as if a
 thought of the kind, expressed
 from the lips of a Minister would
 not send the notes tumbling into
 the Bank as long as they would
 exchange them by giving a shilling
 for a one pound note. But
 this seems to have been the plan:
 to lay aside the gold altogether;
 to come to a paper-money; to
 set all trading and all exchanges
 at defiance; and to establish, by
 law, a paper-money, being a
 legal tender, and to fix the quantity
 of that money that should be
 in circulation, and never suffer the
 quantity to become either greater
 or less. We have heard of mad projects
 enough; but, of all the mad
 projects that I ever heard or read
 of, this is the very maddest. To
 pass Mr. Western's motion with
 a project like this avowed for its
 object, would have been to enact
 that which must of necessity
 have exposed the country to confusion
 in the first place, and, in
 the next place, to everlasting ridicule
 and contempt.—If Mr. Western
 had pursued another line;
 or if, instead of Mr. Huskisson's
 amendment, some one had proposed
 an amendment in these
 words: " That a Committee be
 " appointed to inquire into the
 " effects which have been produced
 " by the measures for a
 " return to cash payments; and
 " also to consider whether some
 " measures ought not to be adopt-

" ed to rectify contracts and
 " make them composit with justice
 " in reference to the measures
 " for returning to cash payments;
 " and especially to consider
 " whether some reduction
 " ought not to take place in the
 " interest of the national debt in
 " order that injustice may no
 " longer be committed under the
 " name of adhering to national
 " faith: " if such an amendment
 had been proposed, the
 debate would have taken a very
 different turn, and would have
 called forth that attention and
 excited that interest, the absence
 of which was so feelingly lamented
 by Mr. Brougham. The country
 is not mad enough to wish to see
 again those *high prices*, which
 Sir Francis Burdett is so anxious
 to see. The country, and no
 part of it more clearly than the
 farmers, see that high prices are
 productive of ruin. Poll the
 whole nation, and you will scarcely
 find a thousand persons weak
 enough to wish for an alteration
 in the standard of value; but
 poll the whole nation upon the
 question of rectifying the contract
 with those who are called the
 public creditors, and you will find
 none but tax-eaters that are not
 for the affirmative of that question.
 —This, therefore, was the
 question to have agitated. This
 question is entertained and
 discussed daily and hourly amongst
 all classes of the community; it
 is a question so deeply interesting
 that it fastens itself upon the
 mind; and that, too, in a manner
 not to be got rid of by any slight
 effort that can be made in any
 quarter. Seeing that this is so
 notoriously the case, it has appeared
 not a little surprising to

me, that Lord Castlereagh should have gone out of his way to stir up this question at the close of a debate, which was manifestly about to terminate in a rejection of the motion of Mr. Western. His Lordship ought to have seen that there was danger to his cause in agitating the thing just at this time; and yet he thought proper to make the Petition of the county of Kent, for a reduction of the interest of the debt, a ground for opposing this motion of Mr. Western, to which the petitioners did not at all refer, and, to which their Petition implied as strong an objection as that which his Lordship himself could entertain. The part of his Lordship's speech which I have alluded to, I give in the very words as I find them in the *Old Times Newspaper*:—"The *pre-*
sent, he maintained, was *not* a
time for the adoption of any
plan for an alteration in our
currency. When the House
heard the daily attempts which
were made to shake the *public*
faith—when, within the last
forty-eight hours, they saw the
attempt made, and *with success*,
in a neighbouring county—
when they saw a *man*, of whose
talents he did not mean to speak
disparagingly, *get into* a meet-
ing of that county and move a
clause to be added to a petition
about to be presented to that
House, which clause called on
the House to deprive the pub-
lic creditor of the *fair interest*
of his debt—when such at-
tempts were made, he would
ask, was it a time for inter-
fering with our currency, or
was it not a time in which the
House was called upon to

"*affirm their former vote* on the
subject?"

In the first place, I will pre-
 sume that the words "*get into*"
 a meeting have been foisted in
 by the Walters, and that Mr. Col-
 lyer, or some such person, would
 be ready to take the whole re-
 sponsibility upon himself. I pre-
 sume this because I find the words
 in no other paper. With the
 word "*man*," I can by no means
 be disposed to quarrel with his
 Lordship; and have only to la-
 ment that he so frequently finds
 fawning spaniels where he ought
 to find men. But, as to my hav-
 ing moved a clause which called
 on the House to deprive the pub-
 lic creditor of the *fair interest*
of his debt, Walter has published
 an infamous falsehood, and know-
 ingly published it, too, or his
 Lordship was guilty of what I
 shall not, and need not, describe.
 I proposed to the Meeting to pray
 for a "*just* reduction of the in-
 terest of the debt," and does this
 mean depriving the public cre-
 ditor of his fair interest? There
 is no man that will now deny,
 that that interest has been dou-
 bled by Act of Parliament, over
 and above the enormous bonuses
 annually given under the name
 of sinking fund. It is evident
 to every man that that which
 the Long Island Prophecies said
 would take place, has taken place
 to a certain extent, and is going
 on regularly to its consummation,
 namely, that the capital of the
 present race of farmers, and that
 the estates of the present families
 of landlords, will be and must
 be transferred to those who re-
 ceive the taxes, and, in great
 part, to that odious tribe, the
 Jews and Jobbers of Change

Alley. Mad; indeed, must Mr. Huskisson be, if he believes that 56 millions of taxes can be paid, and that rents can be at the same amount that they were in the year 1792. He says this, however; and, if he believe it, if this can be believed by *him*, then, indeed, the landlords may hasten to take a farewell look at their estates. I am as well aware as any man can be of the arduous task of doing justice to all parties in this case; but it is a task that I am quite sure might be accomplished, and that, too, in a short space of time. When I made use of the words "*just* reduction of the interest of the Debt," it was not without due consideration. It was not without having thought for years upon the subject; and it was not without my being willing to stake my existence upon the accomplishment of the object if the Government would listen to my advice. Had not the base rich ruffians of Coventry, and the no less base and hypocritical "*patriot*" canvassers in London; had not these been so busy, the first, with their violence, and the last with their more detestable hypocrisy, the country would long ago have had before it my views, at any rate, with respect to a remedy for the great evils that oppress it, and which, as was truly observed by Mr. Attwood, are only going on towards their fatal result. It pleased the ruffians, hypocrites aforementioned, to trust their case in the hands of Peter Moore and Edward Ellice. To them, for me, the country must look. I have done all that I have been able to do, and in every way that, by body and mind, I have been able to make

exertion. I agree with Sir Francis Burdett, that the Ministers are bound to find out some remedy; that it is their *duty* to do something or to resign their places; that, if they know of no remedy, their duty to the people, and more especially to the King, whose immediate servants they are, calls upon them to make the open declaration, to confess themselves unable to advise the King in this great emergency; and to make way for others that are ready to say that they have a remedy. But, on the other hand, if their opponents pretend to have no remedy; I do not say, if they propose none; but if they pretend to have none; or if they propose measures like those of Mr. Western; then I must confess that there is no ground for the Ministers quitting their places; and I have not the smallest objection to say that I think the country safer in their hands, than it would be in those that senselessly cry out for high prices, and that would fling us back into the sea of paper-money in order to obtain those prices.

To me, nothing in the world is more clear:—I have long thought upon the subject; experience proves to me daily more and more, that I understand it well; and to me nothing is more clear than that justice might be done to every one; and that the nation might be settled down in harmony and happiness; and that, too, in less than the space of one year. Lord Castlereagh may accuse me as long as he pleases with "*daily attempts to shake the public faith*." I have made no such attempts.—There is not a single danger of which I have

not given timely warning, and if the nation now has a true view of its situation, it has to thank me for it more than all the rest of mankind. Amidst difficulties such as, I believe, no man ever had before to struggle with; against a torrent of calumny continually issuing forth from innumerable presses, and from the tongues of a swarm of indefatigable miscreants, set and kept in motion by the purse of the most cowardly and malignant of men; against all this and against a ten thousand times greater mass of hostility than ever was before embodied against an individual, I have worked my way to the accomplishing of the great task of opening the eyes of my countrymen to the truth, and whole truth, relative to this momentous subject. It is natural, therefore, that I should have great weight with the people. If this were not so they would be foolish as well as basely unjust. But, what is worthy of deep reflection with the Ministers is this, that it was not the *singularity of my name*, which served the silly Scarlett as the topic of a parcel of stuff in the Court of King's Bench: it was not that that procured an unanimous adoption of my motion at Maidstone. It was nothing at all belonging to *me*, it was the conviction already implanted in the minds of the owners and occupiers of land, and, indeed, of the whole of the people of the County of Kent. It was their conviction of the reasonableness and justice of the proposition, and of the necessity of acting upon it, in order to ensure the peace and happiness of the country. In whatever county the same proposi-

tion shall be made, it will be adopted. What was done in Kent, therefore, on Tuesday last, was of a great deal more importance than that which was doing in the House of Commons. The Ministers, unless they be totally blind; unless they be either worse than Egyptian darkness, or resolved to push us on to that which their miserable writers so basely accuse me of having done; unless this be the case, they will see that the whole body of the people are of one mind with regard to a reduction of the interest of the debt. Can they behold the spectacle in Kent; can they see me, an insignificant individual, not even slightly known, in person, to half a dozen people in the county; can they see such a person, putting forth a proposition, strenuously opposed by Lord Darnley, who was in other respects in the highest esteem with the Meeting; can they see such a person make such a proposition, and carry it with unanimous voice, after it had undergone the most deliberate discussion and the most scrupulous examination; can they see this take place, when probably more than nine-tenths of the Meeting had, not a year ago, held my very name in abhorrence; can they see this and can they believe, that that Meeting did not speak the sense of the people of England? Let them give an answer to this question; but, before they answer, let them, for once in their lives *reflect*.

WM. CORRETT.

JUNE 14, 1823.

To our remarks of yesterday, on the debate of Tuesday and Wed-

nesday, we think it necessary to make a small addition. The House resolved, that it "would not make any change in the standard of the gold or silver currency, in *fineness, weight, or denomination.*" So far so good; but the *standard* may be retained by law, and abandoned in *fact*; and, indeed, Mr. Huskisson said, that the "*standard* had not been changed from 1797 to 1819." Observe, then, he does not call a *legal tender* in base paper-money a *change of the standard*! And, it is very true, that guineas were of the old *weight and fineness*, though they were selling for 29s. a-piece in paper, and though a law was passed to punish people for giving or taking more than 21s. a-piece for them. Now let us hope, that there is no juggle here: none of "Monsieur Huskisson, Anglois'," French inventions; for, observe, though the French put out assignats, till five thousand francs of them were not equal in value to the *Louis D'Or*, they never *changed the standard* of the *Louis D'Or*, "in fineness, weight or denomination." No tricks, we "*fondly hope,*" as the novel-writer of *The Courier* says. We fondly hope, that we shall witness no *tricks*; no *small-note or legal-tender* tricks; for, then Peel's Bill is, in fact, *partly repealed*, and the *Feast of the Gridiron* comes. Some time ago, when the small-note and legal-tender projects were broached, we trembled for the Bill.—We thought the tinkering and mountebank work was about to recommence. We are now *quieted*; but, we shall not think ourselves *quite out of danger*, till the Collective *separate*.

LAST NIGHT.—Nothing in the

Lords, as usual.—In the Commons, a dispute between the rival Hop-planters of Sussex and those of Kent about the law relative to the manner of *marking the bags*. The law, as it now stands, compels the owner, or grower, to put on each bag the name of the County in which the contents have been grown.—The Sussex planters say, the Kentish hops do, *from prejudice*, sell at a higher price than ours, though ours are as good as *their's*. Those of Kent answer, ours are better than your's, and the *name* is necessary to prevent those buyers, who are *not good judges*, from being injured by purchasing Sussex hops instead of those of Kent. This is a nice question. A couple of strong lunged lawyers would find something to say upon it for twelve hours, and would leave their hearers more in the dark than when they began. The matter is put off till *next Session*. If the Parliament could find out some means of detecting, and of causing the rogues to be whipped or clipped, who *re-bag*, and *plug* the hops in London, it would do some service to the country. These fellows are forgers, a great deal more criminal, in our estimation, than those that forge bank-notes; for the former commit the fraud, the base robbery upon their neighbours, without the temptation that the latter have.—However, it is, perhaps, very difficult to find out a remedy for an evil like this.

ILCHESTER GAOL.—Mr. Alderman Wood brought forward his motion relative to this gaol, but upon the recommendation of Mr. Peel he withdrew it.

IRISH TITHE.—Mr. Goulburn

brought in a Bill "for allowing tithe-owners in Ireland to grant leases of tithes binding on their successors." This Bill really does nothing with regard to removing the discontents arising from the tithe-system. Tithes are leased now very generally; and it appears to be of very little importance whether the present owner have the power of binding his successor to the lease. This measure was opposed as wholly inefficient, by Sir H. Parnell, and Mr. O'Grady (whom we never heard of before, and who, it seems is a Captain) and others.—What these gentlemen seem to want is a commutation of the tithes, which was explained by a Mr. Coulthurst to mean giving the Clergy "a full and fair equivalent for what they now possessed." Whence the equivalent is to come, Mr. Coulthurst did not, as far as we perceive, point out; and we think that to pay them out of the taxes is only one step short of the total abolition of their order in Ireland. Mr. Dawson said that the "outcry against tithes in Ireland would be more easily understood if it were considered that the population of that country was divided into three classes, Catholic, Presbyterian and Church of England, the last of which formed only a fourteenth part of the whole population." Yes, Mr. Dawson, we understand the thing the better for this, to be sure, but we do not understand the meaning of your observation, nor the use of making it, unless you mean that the Church of England tithe-owners ought to receive only a fourteenth part of the tithes; and you will please to recollect, that

a very large portion of the tithes, are owned by English noblemen, whom it would be very difficult, we imagine, to reconcile to the proposition which your classification seems to have in view. Mr. Plunkett, who seems to be a staunch and orthodox churchman, said that he would not be induced to compromise the rights of the church, even if the church consented to it. Mr. Plunkett will be so good, perhaps, one of these days, as to let us know how the tithes of *twenty parishes*, which tithes are owned by the Duke of Devonshire, are much connected with the Protestant faith, though the ownership of those tithes was, probably, a very good reason for his Grace being the *Patron* of that famous ball at the Opera House, where a transparency, exhibiting a famishing Irishman was placed directly in the view of the King, according, no doubt, to the refined taste of the patron of the ball. A motto stating that the patron was the owner of twenty parishes in the country of which the transparency described the state of things, would, we think, have made the whole more complete; and if a record had been made above or below, of the benefits which the nation derives from the borough of Knaresborough and the like, it might not have been amiss, as His Majesty would then have had before his eyes a pretty complete epitome of causes and effects. We merely throw out these as hints for Mr. Plunkett, who lamented, during the season of Six-Acts, that the labouring people had become readers and thinkers, instead of good-humouredly sitting down and enjoying their pipe and their

port. Lord Castlereagh expressed his wish to do every thing that it was possible to do for the happiness of Ireland. He did not speak very confidently of the measure, and he must know, we think, that it will do no sort of good. He took occasion to make one observation, which, if we had been in his place we would not have made; namely, "that it had been said, that in Catholic countries the tithes had been actually abolished; but that he should be sorry that this should operate upon us in any other way than as a caution against those dangerous and revolutionary doctrines, the yielding to which had produced such desolation and devastation in the world." We could not, we say, have made this observation if we had been in the place of his Lordship. It was uncalled for; and, it was much more dangerous than those doctrines to which his Lordship was pleased to allude; for, what is the picture that we have before us? The great and undoubted prosperity of agriculture in France and of all those connected with agriculture; while it is wholly unnecessary for us to endeavour to depict the state of agriculture and persons connected with agriculture in distracted England and in starving Ireland. Then, what next presents itself? In France, a total riddance of tithes, and in England and Ireland, an exacting of them with the utmost rigour. Nor do our thoughts stop here. Scotland is, at this moment, compared with England and Ireland, in a state of distress; and in Scotland there is a great deal of suffering. Let his Lordship, at another time, before he

lets loose about dangerous and revolutionary doctrines, and about their producing in the world desolation and devastation, take a little time to reflect on the thoughts and on the commentary to which such uncalled for observations may happen to give rise.

TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF KENT.

Kensington, June 15, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,

The Petition, which you agreed on, at Maidstone, last Tuesday, was presented last night, to the House of Commons; and I am now about to address you on the debate, which arose out of it, and particularly out of the *addition*, which I had the honour to propose for your adoption, and which you had the honesty, the sincerity and *good faith* to adopt.—This addition, it will be recollected, was in the following words:—

"And your Petitioners, further, most humbly pray, that your Honourable House will be pleased to cause a just reduction of the National Debt, as soon as you shall have completed a Reform of your Honourable House."

This debate is of the very first importance to the country. In such a case, it is very difficult for the reporters of newspapers to give any thing like a full account of what passes. The debate occupied nearly about four hours; and that which is inserted in the newspapers, as the report of it, does not take above a quarter of an hour in the reading. Consequently, we have but a mere sketch of it in print. On Monday, there will be inserted in the STATESMAN as full a report as can be made out from the materials already in print and from the

memory of a Gentleman who was present at the debate. You will observe, too, that the hiring part of the Press, which makes up a considerable portion of it, has given the thing in as disadvantageous a way as possible towards us; that being the wish of the caballing factions that hire it and pay it, and which factions now seem to be frightened at the apparent return of good sense to the country.

This being the case, you are not to look at the report of the debate which you will find in this paper, and which report is, as usual with Evening papers, made up from the Morning papers; you are not to look upon this as a full report by any means; and, therefore, you will not make up your minds entirely as to some parts of it, till you see the fullest report that can be obtained. In the meanwhile, it is my duty to offer you some remarks upon it; first, as to my conduct and that of the Meeting; and next, as to the merits of the case itself. In another and longer address to you, which I shall publish in my *Register* of Saturday next, I intend to show, for about the thousandth time, the justice and the necessity of reducing the interest of the debt. On the present occasion, therefore, I shall confine myself, as far as relates to this matter, to a few remarks on the miserable arguments (if such they ought to be called) that have been made use of in opposition to that part of the petition of which I have above spoken.

As to the conduct of myself and of the Meeting.—Sir Edward Knatchbull observed that my character, as well as my conduct,

was worthy of the reprobation of every honest man. He called me "*Cobbett*," and in one paper, it is said that he supposed he must call me a Gentleman, as I called myself a freeholder of Kent. Knatchbull calls himself a Gentleman, I suppose, and, if that be the case, the only favour I have to beg of him is, that he will not call me one.—He says that Lord Darnley; no doubt, considered my character and conduct as worthy the reprobation of every honest man. I have no doubt, that this is not true; because, if you were to believe this, you must believe, that which is not to be believed, namely, that Lord Darnley is both a coward and a hypocrite; for you all heard him call me, not only a Gentleman but an "*Honourable Gentleman*;" and I trust, that his Lordship never has seen, and never will see, any thing in my character or conduct to render the words inapplicable.

But, if the proposition was of that flagitious nature which Knatchbull ascribes to it; if my character and conduct were such as he describes them, what a situation does he place himself in! There was he, in his own county; a cock upon his own dunghill; surrounded by scores of stanch adherents; and there was I, without having a personal knowledge of any six men in the county, offering to a County Meeting a proposition which he thought so infamous; and yet he remained as silent as a mouse as to the merits of that proposition, saying nothing about it, from first to last, except as to the mode in which it should be put by the Sheriff to the Meeting! There was I, standing opposite him; he

knew (or else what he now says is not true) that I was a person of justly reprobated character and conduct; he hears me make a proposition to the Meeting; he sees the Meeting adopt that proposition; he is in the midst of his constituents; and not *one single word does he say about that character or conduct.* But, Gentlemen, that would have been saying it to my face, and Knatchbull thought it more manly to suppress what he thought there, and to say it in the House of Commons, where he knew I should not be! If this is being a *gentleman*, I hereby give Knatchbull notice, that if he ever call me one, I shall consider it a personal insult.

So much for him, and now to Lord Clifton, who said that it was *impossible to tell* how it was that Mr. Cobbett had obtained "an influence over the Meeting so as to succeed with his proposition." As his Lordship seems desirous to be let into a secret here; and as I scorn all disguise, he shall have the secret. In the first place, I was an utter stranger, except to about six persons; in the next place, I spoke not to a single soul before the Meeting with respect to my intentions; in the next place, I asked nobody to second my proposition. What, then, was this influence? It was the influence of a conviction in the minds of the landlords who were not tax-eaters; of the yeomen, of the renting farmers, of the tradesmen, and even of the few labourers that were present, that, without a reduction of the interest of the national debt, they must continue to suffer until they be totally ruined and brought to beggary.—This was the influence.

The thoughts and wishes of the Meeting were put into words by me, and no merit do I claim for so doing; for that which is thought by every man, any man may easily express. Mr. Brougham calls the proposition *crude*. The proposition was not to be sure, as long as a declaration or a bill in Chancery; but, if I am to judge from written resolutions and other documents of the kind that have come from under his hand, he is not a man that would have been likely to propose any thing better digested, though I had not the opportunity of committing it to writing, and though it was not committed to writing, till one gentleman wrote it on a piece of paper which he held on the back of another gentleman, after I had several times repeated it to the Meeting.

One material thing, of which Knatchbull, Mr. Honynwood, and Lord Clifton say not a word, was this, that the proposition did not stand upon my recommendation alone. Having been opposed by Lord Darnley, it was supported, and most ably supported, by Mr. Larkin, with whom, let it be observed, too, I had had no opportunity of conferring, and to whom I was an utter stranger. Mr. Honynwood said, in the debate, that he *disapproved* of the proposition, and that he *opposed* it at the time. He must have done this in a very quiet manner; for not one man in the Meeting heard him utter one word upon the subject. Candour, however, ought to have induced him to state that Mr. Foote, the mover of the original petition, actually rose and *moved* that my proposition should be a part of that petition; that Mr. Darrell,

jun. rose to second that motion; that Mr. Rider who had seconded the original petition, also rose and seconded this motion of Mr. Foote; and you know well, gentlemen, that these three gentlemen were all in the *same wagon* with Mr. Honynwood, standing in company with him, he being, in fact, one of their supporters during the day.

Mr. Calcraft says, that the Meeting could not have been taken by surprise; that the Members of the County were very much to blame; that if HE had been there, he should, with very little trouble, have given such a turn to the matter, as to cause the mover of the proposition to be desired by the freeholders present to "take his horse and make the best of his way home." John Calcraft, thou art what I have always known thee to be; and, thou Representative of the free and independent electors of Wareham, and thou late Clerk of the the Ordinance, I hereby tell thee that (to drop the Quaker style), if you will call a County Meeting in Kent and put to that Meeting a resolution to rescind this that you call so wicked a proposition, I will meet you there *face to face*, and my real opinion is, that it is you who would have to take your horse and make the best of your way home, having only to take care that your face was towards the head, and not towards the tail of the horse!

Now, gentlemen, as to your conduct at this meeting, what could be more fair, what more worthy of Englishmen? You will recollect, that neither Knatchbull nor Lord Darnley pretended that the interest of the debt was at-

ways to be paid. They talked about paying as long as they could, and about ceasing to pay at a last extremity. — Even now, during this debate, none of them pretend, except the banker, John Smith, of Carrington fame and nobility; nobody else pretends that there may not arise a case such as will compel the country to cease to pay. Nay, the Prime Minister himself said, not many months ago, in the House of Lords, that, if a reduction were to be made in the interest of the debt, it ought to be done openly and avowedly, and not by corrupt and fraudulent means such as that of changing the standard of value. So that, there is no man, except such men as John Smith, that pretends, that even so much as pretends, that the full interest of the Debt can always be paid; and yet they pretend to look upon your conduct as foolish in adopting the proposition! The question is, and this is the only question appertaining to this part of the subject. Is there a *necessity* for a reduction, or is there not? It is agreed on all hands that an overwhelming necessity may come; and the question is, as Mr. Western fairly stated it, has this necessity arrived or has it not. What is *overwhelming*? What does that mean, as here applied? It means, covering with ruin. It is very true that those who live directly or indirectly on the taxes are not covered with ruin; but covered with the spoils of the rest of the community. It is very true that the Boroughmen, whose families and dependents of all sorts are doing so well, are not covered with ruin; but, if the landlords who do not live

on taxes; if the yeomen, if the farmers, if the tradesmen and the labourers of this country be not covered with ruin; then this whole nation, Irish as well as British, ought to be destroyed by fire and brimstone; for such a swarm of liars never before existed upon the face of the earth. However, they are not liars. They are covered with ruin; and unless the interest of the Debt be reduced, the whole of the present race of persons of property must be reduced to beggary.

Never was, as you well know, so miserable an attempt as that which has been made to make the country believe that you were taken by surprise in this instance, and that exertion on the part of the Whig Lords would have induced you to reject the proposition. Lord Clifton was "prepared to admit that there was a culpable want of spirit on the part of the leaders." He complains of an unfavourable position that he was in at the Meeting. If his Lordship speak of bodily position, and, if he was inconveniently situated on the Sheriff's platform, surrounded by Noble and Reverend Friends, and with a handrail before him, and standing in the front of the company, how unfavourable must my position have been; pressed half to a jelly, in a wagon, and so closely pressed as being able with great difficulty to move hand or foot, or to stand upright. Neither does his Lordship do justice to his own father, who not only opposed the proposition, and in two speeches, too, but who said every thing upon the subject that has now been said in the House of Commons. What spirit, therefore;

what want of spirit was there in the leaders? Lord Clifton himself spoke; but, like Knatchbull, only as to the manner of putting the question by the Sheriff. The fact is that his Lordship perceived the conviction of the Meeting to be such; their good sense and their spirit to be such, as to render all opposition hopeless.

Another circumstance of great importance has been wholly omitted, namely, that, when I first offered myself to the Meeting, which I did not do till every body else had finished, there were some cries, and, perhaps, from scores of voices, of "*off, off*." Now, the persons who cried "*off*," still made part of the meeting, when the proposition was put; and this it is very material to bear in mind; for even these persons, who doubtless dislike me very much, and who would be ready to step a little out the way to give me mortification; or, at least, to prevent me from obtaining so very great an honour as that which I must manifestly derive from an unanimous vote in favour of my motion; even *these* persons voted for that very motion, coming from a man that they so much disliked, and to prevent whom from opening his mouth, they had just before made such zealous efforts.

Therefore, gentlemen, let shufflers say what they will; let men who are blind, and who wish to continue blind, say or think what they will. This was the deliberate decision of the county of Kent. There were Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders; and though there were few of the real labouring class present, there appeared to be about half a dozen

journeymen in flannel jackets and paper-caps, who were very good representatives of the whole of that class. 'Tis never mentioned, in the Honourable House, that the question was twice put to the Meeting, in consequence of a misunderstanding, which Knatchbull perceived, or pretended to perceive, to exist. This is never mentioned; much less is it mentioned that the first time there were only six hands held up against the proposition, and the second time only three. If it had been put a third time, there would not have been one.

I have no time, gentlemen, at present, to enter further into the subject. You have the satisfaction to know that you have given an example to the country. I claim no merit in the little that I did. The proposition was much more ably supported by Mr. Lar-kin than by myself. I merely put into words, that which was passing in your minds. The conduct of the Ministers, upon this occasion, has been any thing but bold. They receive the petition, mind. The House orders it to be printed; and what is the reason which my Lord Castlereagh gives for this? "That he is anxious to have it recorded as an instance of the feeling of Parliament upon this subject, with a view to warn other counties from disgracing themselves, by adopting the like recommendations to the House." This is certainly an Irish reason, my Lord; for you record the Petition, and you record nothing else. Your journals will tell posterity that you receive this proposition. That you caused it to be printed and put upon your journals, and as to

the rubbishing publications called debates, who cares a straw about them? This is a droll way of discouraging other counties from following your example, gentlemen. Mr. Peel said, that he liked the "*plain dealing*" of Mr. Cobbett and Sir Francis Burdett, who, as well as Mr. Western, spoke out honestly upon this occasion, said that the Right Honourable Gentleman would have a great deal of that plain dealing, which he so much admired.

I shall conclude, for the present, by just noticing the paragraph called the speech of John Smith. He is reported to have said that you adopted a nefarious proposition; that it was a great mortification to him, that they who prided themselves on their integrity and honour to such a degree that they had a *peculiar title* on that account, should be the first body in the kingdom to petition the House of Commons to violate the public faith, and commit the grossest act of injustice. You knew well that you petitioned for no such thing; but for a just reduction of the national debt: you know that this charge against you is not true; and this debate ought to convince you that that which you did, redounds greatly to your honour; that if you be the first to give this recommendation, you will be by no means the last; and it will convince the rest of the kingdom, that MEN OF KENT, is not a mere empty name, but that, first in title, you are also first, in honesty, sincerity, and public spirit.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your faithful Friend,
And most obedient Servant,
W. COBBETT.

JUNE 17, 1822.

WE, for want of room, omitted to notice what passed in the Lords on Friday, and also what passed in the Commons, after the *Kentish Petition* had been received and ordered to be printed. But, before we proceed to these subjects, we must offer a remark or two on what was said on the Petition by Mr. J. Martin, who is, we believe, the son of old Mr. Martin, who was in the place so many years, and who was a *banker* of Tewkesbury. This Mr. J. Martin wished the House to *reject* the Petition altogether, or, if they did not do that, *not to separate* without coming to a specific RESOLUTION, *never to reduce the interest of the Debt!* The House *knew better!* The Ministers knew better than attempt either. If they had done *the first*, they knew that there would be *another* County Meeting in Kent, leaving out, not the *additional* sentence, but a sentence, or some words, in the body of the Petition, which alleged, that the *public money was expended in obtaining a corrupt influence in the House*, and which might have been made a ground and which was the only possible ground, for rejecting the Petition. If they had done the *second*, they would only have reminded people of their having once *solemnly resolved*, that a one pounder and a shilling were equal in value to a guinea in coin and were *so deemed by the public*; and, of their having, in about a month afterwards, passed a law to *compel* landlords to take paper in payment of rent instead of the gold that they had contracted for, and to *punish* people for giving more than a one

pounder and a shilling for a guinea! The *resolution*, so sighed for by Mr. J. Martin, would, in fact, only have tended to convince people, that the *game was up*. The Ministers *knew better* than to attempt either of these expedients; and, therefore, they prudently swallowed the charge about *public money expended in corrupting the House*, a thing which even the Radicals never said to them in such plain language.—Being upon this subject, we will notice a little stupid vapouring in a paper, calling itself the *Traveler*, and that others call the *Tramper*. It seems odd enough, that this paper, which is the main instrument in the hands of the *Westminster Rump*, should run counter, in this way, to Sir Francis Burdett; but, in the first place, he is *now in the right*, and the villainous Rump is always in the wrong. In the next place, the *Tramper* is bound up in a sort of *partnership* with *common-stock* Societies in London. It is, in short, a *trading concern* of Jews and Jobbers.—The *Tramper* asserts that there is no necessity for a reduction of the interest of the debt; that there are five hundred thousand persons interested in preventing it; that they are more numerous than the persons interested in the land. These are strange assertions indeed. The *Tramper* says, that fifteen millions a-year of the taxes might be taken off *without touching the public creditor*. He forgets, perhaps, that, including expense of collection and management and sinking fund (which is so much given to the fundholders every year) the annual cost of the debt is quite *forty millions*, if not a little more.

So that the *Tramper* would disband both army and navy; and would leave the taxes to be collected *without an army*! Perhaps he would think that the yeomanry and militia would continue for ever to be ready to assist the tax-gatherer to make each other give half their incomes and half their wages to the fundholders. Oh no; the forty millions a-year never can be collected without laying out the other fifteen! The fifteen are absolutely necessary to the forty, and it is the forty and nothing else, that requires the fifteen. Let this be borne in mind; and let Rumps and Whigs and all whom it may concern take this along with them; that it is beastly nonsense to be barking about the standing army in "*time of peace*;" as long as the debt exists in its present amount. It is standing army in *time of debt*; and that is what it is, and that is what it must be. As to the five hundred thousand persons interested in maintaining payment of three for one, *where* are they? How comes it that not a man of them was found at this great Meeting in Kent? If there, what sort of spirit must they have? But, what gross stupidity! Supposing the five hundred thousand persons to exist, what are they, compared with those interested in the land! What! all the land-owners, all the farmers, all the labourers, all the tradesmen every where but in and near London, all the artisans and manufacturers. In short, the *whole nation*, with the exception of Jews and Jobbers; and all these, he says, are *less in number* than the fundholders. He certainly expects that the *Yeomanry* and *Militia* will be on the side of

the fundholders; and this is so *very natural* a conclusion, that we shall leave it where it is; but, as to his talking about the robbery of Friendly Societies and Savings' Banks for the "sake of Dukes and Bishops," he must not expect to gull us in this way. The Reformers of 1817 knew very well what they were about. They were chiefly of the class of operative manufacturers. They petitioned to be protected against "the Debt called National;" and well they might; for they knew that the taxes took away one-half of their wages, and that four-fifths of that half were occasioned by the debt. But who proposes any such thing as a robbery of Benefit Societies and Savings' Banks? The people of Kent pray for a just reduction of the debt; and though Lord John Russell cannot discover that there can be a just reduction of the debt, he will be taught what it is in the course of a year; and in the mean time we can tell the *Tramper* that it would be unjust to take from Benefit Societies and Savings' Banks that which they have deposited from *deep-laid delusion* or from *compulsion*. No: no man has ever dreamt of such a thing. A just reduction means, as Mr. Monck pointed out, a *discriminating* reduction. It means that the Jews and Jobbers should not have three for one; and in putting an end to this monstrous injustice, the common labourer is as deeply interested as the first lord in the land; nay, he is more deeply interested in it; for he suffers *bodily* from this intolerable load of taxes, and the lord does not. The labourer has been pinched for years and years; he has been debased

into a pauper; reduced to a state of abject slavery; his days have been shortened by those diseases which arise from poverty. In Ireland, the last stage of misery is come. Here we have the natural result of this hellish system of paper-money and of national debts. Here, we see what it comes to at last. The misery and the burnings in Norfolk and Suffolk flow from the same accursed source. In the midst of peace with the rest of the world, we have eternal war in our own bowels; and this war never can cease until this debt be greatly reduced. *Reform!* This wretched *Tramper* pretends to be the friend of Reform. Does he not know that it is this Debt that has all along prevented Reform. Does he not recollect that the debt was first established in order to bind the base and selfish part of the people to the Government, and thereby to make it too strong for the rest? Has he forgotten, that, in 1817, when the Bill was passed to cram Reformers into dungeons, the *funds rose instantly*; and has he forgotten that the infamous bands of Jews and Jobbers issued a declaration against us, and thanked the Ministers for having procured the passing of that Bill. In short, it is this accursed crew that stand between the nation and its freedom and happiness.

In the Lords (on Friday) the Marquis of Lansdowne made a motion which was to declare that the House "thought the state of Ireland required the attention of Parliament and the adoption of measures to improve its condition and secure its tranquillity." Lord Liver-

pool moved the previous question on this; and finally Lord Lansdowne's motion was rejected by 108 against 60. There was nothing new in the debate, and nothing very interesting; except that Lord Lansdowne, having spoken about *tithes*, and denominated them *taxes*, the Lord Chancellor observed in answer, that the property of the church had as good a title as that of the Noble Marquis, and that another Noble Lord ought to remember that he had no more right to interfere with the property of the church than he, the Lord Chancellor, had a right to interfere with his property. If this be sound doctrine, how comes it that the Parliament does so often interfere with church property; as, for instance, by compelling the rector to give so much a-year to a curate, and the like; not to mention the total alienation of a part of the property by Act of Parliament, under the name of land-tax?—To us, it appears most whimsical to consider tithes, glebes and the church-land as any thing other than *public property*, to be disposed of as the Parliament shall think best for the nation, whether in part payment of the interest of the debt; or for any other purpose.

In the Commons, Sir J. Macintosh had the very great misfortune to be prepared for a fine speech on the *Alien Bill*, after the lively subject of the Kentish Petition; and, as would appear from the plaintive commencement of the worthy lawyer's speech, it appears that he found himself pretty quickly surrounded, in great part, at least, by empty benches. Mr. Hume moved an adjourn-

ment of the debate, which the House did not agree to. After which the Bill was read a second time, the House continuing to be very thin. The truth is, that this is a matter which does not much concern us, *now, in time of Debt*. We recollect, besides, that, when a man was put ten weeks in prison for announcing to his townsmen that one of their countrymen had landed at Liverpool in good health, Sir James Macintosh and the Lavalette band, who are so anxious on the score of *English hospitality*, and so acutely feeling for every affront offered to foreigners; we remember that then they said not a word. This being the case, we cannot say that we can discover any very great reason for our making ourselves uneasy, lest they should be deprived of the enjoyment of the gossiping and gabbling of their enlightened cronies from Paris. We felt a good deal of anxiety lest some Alien Bill trick should keep the Queen's witnesses out of the country; but, that affair being over, we should have no objection to see a Bill pass that would have the effect of greatly diminishing the number of foreigners, nine-tenths of whom only come for the purpose of picking our pockets. We think if this island were swept clean of them, it would be full as well. At any rate, if a man can be put ten weeks in prison for announcing the arrival of an Englishman, and Sir J. Macintosh say nothing about it, surely all this fuss is not called for in favour of Frenchmen, Italians, and others who came to get what they can and then be off again. We should not care if the Government was

to keep them shut up in a pound. In short, we care nothing at all about the matter, and know very well that it is unworthy of a moment's attention, while a great standing army is kept up in the country *in time of profound debt*.

JUNE 18, 1822.

In the LORDS were read a second time several Bills repealing the ancient statutes, or in part repealing them, relative to *Commerce and Navigation*. These Bills we regard as the first step towards the annihilation of the naval power of England. The Ricardos and the Barings have prevailed. We are drawing in our horns; very fast becoming a *little country*; and a war at ten years' distance, if this policy could be suffered to prevail during the ten years, would find us a helpless mass of traders, wholly incapable of defending ourselves against the joint efforts of America and France. In short, all the sound principles of policy of our ancestors are now to be abandoned for the sake of that traffic, which it is hoped will yield us a little something to help pay the expenses of this terrible *time of debt* and of the standing army which that debt requires for its collection.

In the COMMONS, Mr. Littleton presented Petitions relative to the *payment of labourers* in kind or in money. It was nonsense, but it serves to show to what a desperate state we have arrived. When legislators are called upon to pass laws to regulate the mode in which bargains shall be executed between master and man; and whether they shall be paid in vic-

tuals or paid in money, dismal indeed is the state of a country.

There was a good deal said about the *Scotch Burghs*, but it was of no importance to the public, as nothing has been even proposed which, if carried into effect would do any good.

Mr. Brougham put off his motion upon the subject of the *influence of the Crown* until Thursday next. He might as well put it off until the last Thursday of this century unless he mean to be very plain and honest about the *influence of the Boroughs* and to show us the healthy effect of this last influence, especially in the cases of Winchelsea, Peterborough, Knaresborough, Colne, Highamferrers and other places too numerous to mention. If Mr. Brougham would do this, we should thank him: if he will not, why, then, *fudge!*

The *budget* (Good God!) is to come forward, the Chancellor of the Exchequer *hopes*, next Friday se'nnight; not next Friday "as ever is." We had forgotten all about budgets. We thought that was all over for this year. Indeed, we thought that small-note project, branch project, and legal tender project, were the only things that remained to come on, and we were preparing for a trip into the country. However, Mr. Vansittart may put off as long as he pleases. He may wait to see the new stock of over-production come in to Mark-lane; for our parts we shall be off and leave him to his budget and his smoke.

A little thing closed the night's proceedings and seems to have given rise to very little in the way of observation. It was a grant of two hundred and fifty thousand

pounds, making, with the sums already advanced, four hundred thousand for the relief of the distressed Irish; but to be laid out in—for God's sake, reader, mark the words and never forget them—never forget them as long as you have breath in your body—to be laid out (hear it, Englishmen, hear it!) "in promoting the ERECTION OF PUBLIC WORKS!" And when these public works shall have been erected, what doubt have you that impudent knaves and gaping fools will point to them as indubitable proofs of *national prosperity* and *increase of capital!*—Not another word need be said: Bedlam never poured forth any thing like this. Proofs of national prosperity and increase of capital to be seen gratis, arising out of the starvation of the people, and of subscriptions and grants out of taxes, for the purpose of alleviating the effects of that starvation!

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JUNE 22, 1822.

IN the House of LORDS, last night, the Bill for allowing Roman Catholic Peers to sit and vote in that assembly experienced the fate that was anticipated.—The motion for its second reading was moved by the Duke of Portland, and supported by Lords Erskine, Grey, Grenville and Holland, and strenuously opposed by Lords Colchester and Redesdale, and especially by the Lord Chancellor. On the question being put, the numbers were, for the second reading 129—against it, 171; majority for rejecting it 42.

IN the House of COMMONS, Mr. Wallace abandoned the Ware-

housing Bill for the present Session. In stating his intention, he said, that there was much misapprehension out of doors respecting the measure, but that his sentiments as to its policy remained unchanged. He, however, withdrew the Bill, "in consequence of the advanced period of the Session," adding, that he should certainly bring it forward early in the ensuing Session of Parliament. A variety of other business occupied the House till two o'clock this morning. Among the measures of most interest was the Prison Law Consolidation Bill, and that respecting Irish Constables. In both these Bills alterations of importance have been introduced.

We omitted to notice the singular turn which the proceedings took in the House of COMMONS, on Wednesday last, on the question of the *Irish Tithes*. Mr. Daly, the Member for Galway, having consented, on the suggestion of Mr. Goulburn, to withdraw his promised motion, to *pledge* Parliament to take the subject into consideration early next Session, Mr. Hume instantly rose and moved the *same* resolution. Sir J. Newport moved, as an amendment, "That the House should pledge itself to take the subject of tithes into their consideration early in the next Session, with a view to substitute a mode of providing for the Established Church different from the present vexatious and injurious system." Mr. Hume withdrew his motion; but Sir John Newport persisted in his, a division took place, when it was negatived by a majority of 72 to 65. The majority may

here, be fairly taken as a *minority*. The majority was *seven*; but among the twenty-two that voted against the amendment, how many were there of placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, and tax-eaters of various descriptions? The question may be answered *very satisfactorily* for the friends of Reform; and we begin to hope that *Irish Tithes*, in their present form, will not survive another Session of Parliament. The occurrence we have just noticed, is the more important, because the House was taken, in this instance, by surprise; and was thrown, as it were, upon its natural feeling and bias. The suddenness of Mr. Hume's and Sir J. Newport's Motions deranged, in great part, the tactics of Ministers; and all but the Placemen, &c. were, for a moment, free. But there is another topic which these proceedings present to our consideration. They tend greatly to strengthen our former observations respecting the *disposition* of MINISTERS *towards* IRELAND. They will *promise* reforms in abuses in the Government of Ireland; but they will accomplish *none*. If any one else attempts to effect *any* reform, they will take it out of his hands, by *stealth*, or by *force*, for the purpose of *strangling* it. The commencement of *real* reform, either by themselves or others, is not what they intend. Can any thing be more direct proof of this, than their conduct respecting the Irish tithes? They know, and they have argued (for some of their purposes) that the late outrages in Ireland, did not proceed from *political* dissatisfaction in the

Irish, but from distress and from the approach of starvation. Not that there is not *political* dissatisfaction and disaffection enough in Ireland. Let no one for a moment, indulge in that thought. But their political grievances were not the reasons for which they lately rose, and plundered, and murdered. They were goaded on, by the *extremity of distress*. The *TITHES* form one great cause of this distress. A poor peasant has not a stock of potatoes sufficient to keep himself and his wife and children from starving; and, in this desperate condition, the *PARSON* comes, and takes away *the tenth of his only food*. But this is not the whole of the injury. The poor man is a *Catholic*; and does not want the religious instruction of the *PARSON*, who takes his food away in *payment of that instruction*. He cannot receive that instruction. The *PARSON* knows that; and the *Patron* who gave him the *Living* knows that; and the *Government* knows it. Can there be injury, and *insult* beyond this? *INFIDELS* would not have gone to such a pitch of wrong as this. But *CHRISTIANS* can do it—*CHRISTIANS* can defend the practice also—nor will *Christians* be prevailed on to forego it!—Why! well may there be outrages, insurrections, murders, any thing that is monstrous, in Ireland. A people the most patient by nature, and by habit, could not have patiently borne the usage the Irish receive; and why should a brave, and hasty, though honest people be expected to be calm and unexasperated? What effects can such proceedings as those in the *House of Commons*,

on the *Tithe* question, be expected to have! We dare not *contemplate* them; and if we could do so, we dare not *utter* our thoughts. And be it remembered by the *House of Commons*, and remembered by *Ministers*, that one of the *promises* held out, at the *Union*, by *Mr. Pitt* in this country, and by *Lord Castlereagh* in Ireland, was, that a commutation of tithes should take place immediately on the passing of the *Union Act*. Have the Irish forgotten *that*?

JUNE 24, 1822.

WHETHER in compliment to the fundholders, or not, the fact is, that our lawgivers cease from their labours on the Jewish as well as on the Christian Sabbath. We, above all men, ought to be pleased with this, as it affords us time, once a-week, for taking a retrospect of their proceedings, and to gather up things that may have dropped unobserved in our diurnal progress. The last week was remarkable for these; and, to tell the plain truth, we could stand the smoke, and the air, poisoned by the breath of the infernal Jews, no longer, without getting out, for a few days, to see the dew, and smell the fields.

To take these omitted things, these "*dropped orders*," in regular succession, we have to begin with those of

Wednesday, June 19.—In the *House of Commons* was printed a Petition from *Mr. John Knight*, who, as we all well know, was imprisoned under *Sidmouth's Act* of 1817, and now again ever since 1819, under a sentence for sedition, having been imprisoned un-

der a charge of high treason; but never brought to trial on that charge! He is now at large, and has begun to seek redress. Now all that we have to add to what we before said on this subject is this: that, unless Mr. Knight, and all men similarly situated, obtain COMPLETE REDRESS, we wish for nothing that can put a stop to the ruin that is going on. We would rather see all ruined, all plunged into the most horrible misery; than see the nation in general happy, and the suffering, the cruelly treated Reformers not obtain complete redress. That is our wish, and we not only disregard, but despise, those who may condemn it.

Mr. Western has now given notice of a motion that may be of use. He stated the nature of it thus: "Resolutions descriptive of the distressed state of the country, and particularly of the agricultural part of it; in the next place to exhibit the general state of the altered currency, and its effect on the amount of taxation, illustrative of the relative situation in which the public and the public creditor stood on account of that alteration of the currency."

We only beg leave to point out to Mr. Western, that in order to show the relative situation of the tax-payers and the tax-eaters, he must not think at all of the Ricardo scale; and must not talk of 40 per cent. even. He must take the bushel of wheat; and then he will find more than 100 per cent. This motion appears to be extremely well calculated to open the eyes of those who are yet blind. It will lay the foundation for a proposition to reduce the in-

terest of the debt in compliance with the petitions of the people, of which there will soon be enough. *The Men of Kent* have spoken out; and, if Mr. Western show the nation, as he now may, that the Kentish Petition contained that which justice called for, the next Session will open with a general call for reduction; to produce which the "threepenny trash" to be published at the Register Office next Saturday, under the title of "*Reduction no Robbery*" is well calculated. We do not call this a puff; for, the whole thing, from first to last, is, in fact, *our own affair*.

The third reading of the *new Corn Bill* we should not notice; for it is likely to be of no more consequence than would be a Bill to settle a division of guineas, that might be found in the streets of London; but we do just notice the subject, in order to take occasion to address a prayer on the subject, not to Parliament, but to Mr. John Christian Curwen, who, for about the hundredth time, said, that he "was the last man to make a direct attack on funded property, yet, he hoped, that, in another year, Parliament would recognise the justice and necessity of calling on the holders of that property to aid the holders of all other property in sustaining the poor rates." Now, our prayer is, O, good Christian Curwen, we beseech thee to tell us, how the Parliament is to do this; how it is to perform this miracle! We beseech thee to tell us how it is to make the fundholders pay poor rates in any other way than they now pay them; namely, in the price of their food. We beseech

thee to tell us *how* the Parliament will get money from the fund-holders to be applied in aid of the poor-rates without "a *direct attack*." We beseech thee to tell us these things, if thou canst; and, if thou canst not, we beseech thee to tell us *no more about the matter!*

IRISH TITHES! A Number 1 subject. A *real thing*.—A Mr. Daly had given notice of a motion on this subject, seeing that the Ministers, in *their* measure, had really done *nothing at all*. But, when he rose to *begin*, the Ministers, who, of course, had not chatted with the worthy gentleman about it before, proposed to him to put off his motion *till next Session!* The Honourable Gentleman, though with reluctance equal to that which a new speaker feels upon first going into the chair, did, at last, *yield*, after a dish of, we must say, as polite and pretty conversation as we have ever heard in all our lives, even when carried on by warm-hearted and soft-tongued youths that come over from the sister kingdom. And so, all was *settled* for this session; for the Honourable Gentleman "felt that he could not *do justice* to the cause which he had undertaken to *advocate* if he did not *postpone it!*"—And thus the thing was about to end; but, *faith*, no such thing! Mr. Hume did not seem to understand this sort of *settling*. He did not seem to understand *why* the subject should not be discussed, and therefore he made a motion. "That, *early the next session*, the House will *inquire into the state of the Church establishment, and the mode of collecting tithes in Ireland, with a view to make*

"SUCH ALTERATIONS *as may be found necessary under all the circumstances.*" This he prefaced by a speech containing a statement of abuses enough to fill the gentlest breast with indignation and rage; and not a single fact, stated by him, was contradicted. To do justice to him, on this occasion, is absolutely impossible. He ought to *print his speech at full length*, with *all the horrid details*; and, if he neglect this, he does but half do his duty; though, for that half, we most cordially thank him, it being a great deal more than the *whole* that any other member has done for a long series of years.—This was what the boxers call a *doubler-up*. It will make the thing cry *aha!*—Mr. Peel, and a man of the name of Browne (Dennis Browne, we believe), Mr. Goulburn and Mr. Plunkett, appear to have been sadly *chaffed* by this speech of Mr. Hume. They called it *revolutionary* and all that was unpleasant; but, Sir J. Newport having moved an amendment, which was really *more revolutionary*, it was lost only by a majority of 7, 65 being for it and 72 against it. It was this: "That this House will take the subject of Irish Tithes into its consideration early in the next Session, with a view to *substitute a mode of providing for the established church different from the present vexatious and injurious system.*" Mr. Hume gave way, and well he might; for his dram (motion I mean) was nothing compared with this "*throp a thriak*" from the native still of Old Ireland herself. And yet even *this* motion was scarcely lost! *There the fat ones heard their first knell!* Nor did

Sir John Newport flinch in point of *speech*.—In short, the thing is *begun*; and high time it is that it were begun. This is a subject that will be, and must be, returned to; in the meanwhile, listen, Parsons: The *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* have published, by the hands of their booksellers, the Rivingtons, several "*religious tracts*," in which they have abused and belied Mr. Cobbett, who, to return good for evil, and to promote *real* Christian Knowledge at the same time, has published a *Sermon* (being the last of his little volume,) "*on the Duties of Parsons, and on the institution and object of tithes*." This has been republished in *Ireland*, with copious notes, applying the doctrine to the facts in existence, and has been *well circulated* in that part of the kingdom. So you see, Parsons, that two can play as well as one at this game of *Tracts*!—Wherever this sermon goes it must make *clean work*. Let the Parsons, and especially those who are *half-pay officers in the army*, answer that *Sermon*.

Thursday, June 20.—In the *Lords*, on a Navigation Bill, Lord Holland complained, that, after all the pledges of foreign powers, the *Slave Trade* was carried on by them with as much vigour as ever. This is very *true*, but useless to state. While the *debt* lasts, no nation will pay attention to our *complaints* of breach of treaty. The French king did, indeed, agree to *abolish* the trade; but, on second thoughts, he cannot see, perhaps, why he should be bound to the agreement, especially as it is the *Royal* doctrine, that Kings are not to be bound by any pro-

mises, or oaths, made when they are *not at perfect freedom*. However, it is useless for this country to complain of breach of treaty as long as the debt lasts in any thing like half its present amount.

In the *COMMONS*.—REPEAL OF PEELE'S BILL to a certainty! The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in a Bill to authorize the continuing of the issue of *small notes*, to enforce a continuation of *legal tender*, and, in these respects to alter "*existing laws*?" to wit, Peel's Bill! According to that Bill, the *small notes* of the *Borough Bank* and the *legal tender* of all her notes, *cease on the first of May next*. This new Bill is to prolong both for *nine years at least*! So here is the Bill repealed as to two essential parts of it! Well! no matter. The *iron* is ready, and the *gridiron* will be ready to go up by the time that the Bill shall have received the "*Royal Assent*." We hope the *Speaker* will make a *speech* to the King, upon the occasion, as he did when Peel's Bill was passed! Mr. Ricardo observed, with most amiable *naiveté*, that people *out of doors* would certainly deem this measure a repeal of the act of 1819! Aye, and the people *in doors* too, to be sure, unless one could suppose them all *drunk or mad*; and that we cannot, and, indeed, dare not suppose. Peel's Bill abolishes a certain Act; that Act and that alone permits *small notes* and make *legal tender*; Peel's Bill, therefore, *abolishes* (in May next) *small notes* and *legal tender*; the present Bill continues both after May next: the present Bill, therefore, *repeals* Peel's Bill. There, Mr. Ricardo; get out of that coop-house if you can. But,

let the farmers bear in mind, that *this* repeal will only tend to keep prices where they are: it cannot tend to raise them.

Friday, June 21.—In the Lords, the Catholic Peers' (Canning's) Bill was thrown out by a majority of 171 against 129. It is a subject of no importance to the country. Any *one single word* in the forthcoming motion of Mr. Western, or in the speech of Mr. Hume on Irish Tithes is of more importance to the nation than all the botheration that has ever been made about what is called "*Catholic Emancipation*" from the first using of the phrase to the present hour. Sir John Newport has been talking about "*Catholic Emancipation*" for many years; but the only thing he ever did in this way with effect was done on *Wednesday*, as above noticed. His motion to provide for the Church Establishment in a *new way*, that is to say, *to take the public's real property from it*, was a motion for *real Catholic Emancipation*. And this too has been produced by our fast friend, *the Debt!* That *debt* is a true friend of freedom, and she is now beginning to heat Canning *a vue d'œil*. He always left her (as we used to tell him) out of his calculation. His eyes were aloft, looking after "the glorious Sun of Prosperity that was only hidden behind a cloud." Well, though, seriously, what is to become of this jester of Ogden? Is he to go, or is he to stay? What is he to be if he stay? He has made two moves, the *Catholic Peers' Bill* and the *Grinding Clause* for the new Corn Bill! The gentleman is not so cogent, or, at least, not so successful, in argument, as

he used to be when he had his beloved friend Lord Castlereagh co-operating with him. Really, as we say by a faded garment, he has seen his *best days*. What a change, since the time that he was writing *witty State papers* from *Downing Street!* Never will he again enter that Elysium.

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JUNE 26, 1832.

IN THE LORDS, last night, the Waterloo Bill was read a second time: that is to say, the Bill for farming out, if possible, the Military and Naval Half-pay Pensions. We observed upon this Bill, when it was before the Commons; and we certainly perceive nothing of novelty in the debate in the Lords. Lord Lauderdale, however, took occasion to say something about the *Sinking Fund*, and seemed, if we understand him, of which we are by no means sure, to take to himself the honour of being the Papa of the present Sinking Fund: and, if that be really the case, all we have to say is, as they generally do say, to a happy father, *much joy*, my Lord! Lord King said, that he wished to know, if he could possibly obtain the information, whether there really was a Sinking Fund, or not. His Lordship may continue his wishes; but never will this mystery be explained till the whole of the thing be swept by the board. It came out incidentally from Lord Liverpool, that it was not the intention of the Ministers to propose a *renewal of the Bank Charter*, during the present Session.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Hobhouse presented a Petition from the relations of a man nam-

ed William Sydney Smith, and this might be a caution to fanciful parents not to give great names to their children. The admirers of painting, now and then call their sons "MICHAEL ANGELO!" The instances of this sort that have come under my observation, certainly do not tend to encourage the whimsical practice, which generally arises from enthusiasm and results in mortification. William Sidney Smith, is in Botany Bay, transported for life, for highway robbery! It does, however, appear that there was no direct evidence against him. It appears that it was not he that committed the robbery; but it also appears that he was in the company of those who did commit it. Mr. Peel observed, that the jury had been satisfied, the Recorder had been satisfied, and so had the superior Judge who reviewed the decision. Yet Mr. Peel did, we think, seem to admit that there were great doubts, after having heard all the extra-judicial representations that had been made. The petition was received and ordered to be printed; and we most sincerely wish that it may lead to the enlargement of the person transported; because, if there be any doubt, he ought to have the benefit of those doubts; and because, it is better that ten guilty escape than that one innocent should suffer. We cannot dismiss this subject without expressing our surprise at the concluding observation of Mr. Hobhouse, who said, that his object, in presenting the petition, was *not to institute any proceeding on it in Parliament*, but to induce Mr. Peel to renew his inquiry into

the facts. This is a pretty sort of use to make of the Parliament. The petition prays, and must pray, for the House to do something; so that here is a sham; for the Hon. Member declares that he wants the House to do nothing. As long as the House of Commons is made use of for purposes like this, so long will it be thought of as it is now thought of. Things must be out of joint, when, in order to induce a Minister, who is obviously a most diligent man, to do his duty, petitions are presented praying the House to do something, while the very persons presenting them declare they have no such object. As to the matter of the petition, nothing of *politics* appears to have been ascribable to any of the parties; and, therefore, we think, with all due deference to Mr. Hobhouse, that it would have been better to leave Mr. Sidney Smith, to the effects of a *very plain* and perfectly true statement lodged in the hands of Mr. Peel. By the dressing up of a querulous and rather criminatory story, you put the other party upon his mettle; and it is not in human nature to expect so much candour and so much consideration from a person in that temper, as from a person who listens merely to a plain unvarnished appeal to his judgment and his justice. Nothing could be more fair or more reasonable than the ground taken by Mr. Peel. We would recommend to the friends of the young man, to follow the course that we have pointed out; and we have not the smallest doubt that justice will be done as far as it can be done.

COTTON CHILDREN.—Mr. W.

Smith asked Mr. Peel a question relative to the reluctance of witnesses to give testimony as to the violation of the Act limiting the labour of children in the cotton manufactories. Mr. Peel said, that the information was imperfect; but that if it should be proved that the law had been violated, he would move for a Committee to examine into the facts. We notice this subject, merely to take occasion to remark, that when such laws are necessary, miserable, indeed, must be the lot of the poor children, condemned to the pestiferous employment of making cotton, and subjected to the rope's end of a driver. We know a gentleman, who, when a child, was in one of these factories. And he assures us, that it was the rule for the driver to wallop with a rope's end the child that was last in coming in at the door, in the morning, or after meals. So that the poor little things were scrambling and pushing like sheep at a gateway with a dog barking at their heels; and they might almost literally say, "*the Devil take the hindmost.*"—The truth is, that this is an evil beyond the reach of positive law. To secure these children from ill-treatment, their parents must be in a situation that will enable them to insist upon good treatment of the children. This is the only security; and this is now proved by the complaint of Mr. W. Smith, who wished to know whether it was the intention of the Ministers to take any step in consequence of the **RELUCTANCE OF WITNESSES** to give information relative to the violations of the Act; that is to say, rela-

tive to the ill-treatment of the children? Reluctance, indeed!—Poor creatures, how *dare* they give evidence? This alone proves that the thing is not to be remedied by positive law. It is to be remedied only by such laws as will indirectly put the parents in a situation to be able to say, that their children shall or shall not work for such and such person. The cotton factories, on their present footing, are a curse, instead of a blessing to the country, and so is every pursuit, where persons are assembled together in great masses under the control, and working for the interest of great and opulent individuals. They give nothing of strength to a country; but the contrary: they are a source of misery; and misery never did and never will produce, in this end any thing but feebleness.

SCOTCH QUARREL.—A thousand Englishmen or Irishmen may cut each other's throats, or be crammed into gaols or dungeons, without making any stir at all; but here we have a debate until within a quarter of an hour of two in the morning, during a night when the House must have been nearly as hot as a stewpan, and not much unlike, in another respect, one of those precious things that the French call *cassarols*, in which they cook all manner of things from a lump of bloody-red beef, down to sour sorrel. Here we have a debate, of this length, only because one Scotchman has shot another, neither of whom, if they had lived to the age of METHUSELAN, would ever have been heard of, from any other cause. It is curious enough that all this piece of work should

have arisen out of a newspaper battling. There were two sets, one for the *Ins* and the other for the *Outs* that wanted to get in. The duel arose out of a quarrel between two of the writers; but a man of the name of Borthwick, a pretended owner, or part owner of one of the papers, had been proceeded against in some way or other; it does not signify what. The conduct of the Lord Advocate, with regard to this Borthwick, formed the ostensible ground of complaint against him; and this debate was on a motion of Mr. Abercrombie for a Select Committee to inquire into the Lord Advocate's conduct. The Lord Advocate made a speech in his defence; Sir James Macintosh, and Mr. Lockhart took the side of Mr. Abercrombie. The House at last divided, when the motion of Mr. Abercrombie was lost, there being 95 for it, and 120 against it. We regret exceedingly that Mr. Peel and Lord Castlereagh should have interfered in a matter like this. Without them, there were four Scotch lawyers; and if the two Ministers had not interfered, the thing could have gone off in precisely the way that it ought to have gone. Sir James Macintosh took occasion to observe that Mr. Spence held the doctrine, "*That robbery was only a restoration of the natural rights of man.*" Sir James seems to have gone out of his way to hook this in; and he must have been a much more intimate acquaintance of Mr. Spence than we ever were; for, in the *writings* of Mr. Spence, we positively assert that there is no such doctrine. We believe Mr. Spence to have been a most

virtuous man: and we know that he lost his life in consequence of his abhorrence of that worst species of robbery, robbery committed on all ranks, and particularly on the labouring classes, by those infamous speculators, no small part of whom have come from the other side of the Tweed, though the main body of the people are *there* as virtuous as in any part of the world. In short, much time as was occupied in this thing, it is a matter in which the people are not at all interested. We here see a parcel of hireling writers at war with one another, having just as much principle on one side as on the other side, and, at the end of years of wrangling for places and pensions, coming, at last, to a fight. We are sorry Mr. Peel should have bestowed one word upon the subject. We would have left it entirely in the hands in which it was. It would have been settled just as well as it is now; for no man in his senses cares more about it than about a battle for a bone between two dogs in the street.—One might laugh, if one had the leisure at the exchange of compliments between the parties. Each praises the other, though at war with him. They are all *gentlemen*; all *honourable men*, and, above all things, every one of them, a person of surprising talents. *Reduce the taxes to sixteen millions a-year*, and we shall hear no more of quarrels of this sort.

JUNE 27, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, the *Marriage Act* was under discussion in a

Committee; but nothing worthy of particular notice occurred.

IN THE COMMONS, Mr. Curwen presented a Petition from Major R. Wood, complaining that he had been *deprived of his commission* without trial and without inquiry; in answer to which Lord Palmerston said, that the man was a *public defaulter*, and that his commission was *sold* to help make up his deficit, which still continued to be more than 3,000*l.*—This was, to be sure, quite answer enough; and, yet it appears that Mr. Lennard, Col. Davies, Mr. Hume, and Sir R. Wilson, were not quite satisfied with it.—We do not say that inquiry might not be necessary; but we think people should be very cautious, when they are crying aloud for reduction of taxes, how they take the part or seem to take the part of any of those whom the Government are pursuing for the recovery of the public money. We do not like to see any body take the part of any of those who are charged with default or speculation. The Government has enough to do, if it do its duty, to be a match for those gentry; and while we are very anxious to see justice done in the case of Theodore Hook, we can by no means countenance any thing that is done to tease the Government in a case like that of this Major Wood.

MR. BORTHWICK. This is the person of whom so much was said in the debate published yesterday.—Mr. Abercrombie gave notice of a motion on the subject of the proceedings against this man in Scotland. This was the man, observe, that was the ostensible proprietor of the paper, which was called *The Beacon or Sentinel*,

and to which the life and fortunes of many men subscribed. He got a partner of the name of Alexander. After a time he sold Alexander his share. Alexander did not pay him; and he went back, took possession, took away a parcel of manuscript papers in the office; showed those papers; this showing of the papers led to the duel, and to the shooting of Boswell; and Borthwick was proceeded against as a felon for taking the papers. God knows what the proceedings were; for they were carried on, it seems, under the Lord Advocate of Scotland. The case may be one that would merit inquiry, under other circumstances; but, when we find that Mr. Abercrombie and his party were totally silent upon the cramming into prison, without any form of process whatever, so many worthy men in Lancashire in 1817; when we find them silent when a whole crowd of unarmed Englishmen, who had met to petition for Reform, were surrounded by troops, and driven into a gaol by those troops, and there kept for several days and nights, standing in the gaol-yard without any legal process whatever; when we find them silent, or, rather, jesting on the case of the Lancashire Blanketeers, we shall hardly be made to believe, that they can apprehend the *liberties of the country to be in danger*, on account of any stretches of the law that may possibly have taken place in the case of this ostensible proprietor of what they themselves denominate the most corrupt and flagitious newspaper that ever was published. The putting of John Hayes into prison for ten weeks, only, because he went

round the town of Bolton to announce to his neighbours that William Cobbett was arrived at Liverpool in good health was a case a million times more worthy of public attention than this; and yet the liberty-loving party to whom Mr. Abercrombie belongs never said a word about that matter; and our sincere opinion is that, if Borthwick had ever said a word *against the borough*, he must have gone somewhere else to find somebody to resent his ill-treatment.

YEOMANRY CAVALRY. — Mr. Hume made a motion which he afterwards withdrew for a return of claims made by officers of the Yeomanry Corps in the counties of Bedford, Bucks, Essex and Surrey. Mr. Dawson objected to this, as it would seem to cast a slur on those corps, and he said that there never was less ground for *suspicion*, as not a penny of the money was *misapplied*. Mr. Maiberly said he was a member of one of the corps, and he thought that their character required that the account should be laid before the House. Thereport says that a short conversation ensued here, between some gentlemen who contended that more satisfactory accounts ought to be furnished, and Mr. Macqueen, Mr. Dawson, the Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Wynn and Lord Palmerston; who maintained that the sums charged on account of their respective corps *had been actually expended*. Very well, gentlemen; but then *why refuse the account?* Why not let us see it? Mr. Macqueen and the Marquis of Chandos are, we believe, commanders of yeomanry corps. We wonder why they should object to the producing of accounts.

This is a matter of about a thousand times of as much importance as the quarrel amongst the Scotch lawyers about their hired newspapers, the sole object of which papers is, to get at the *fingering*, or to keep possession of the *fingering* of public money. However, there is now one comfort, and that is, that the landlords themselves and the yeomanry themselves are beginning to be the *payers* in this case as well as in others. While the base paper-money was going on robbing the labourer and the artisan, the former classes were revelling in prosperity. Thanks to the blessed, and we had almost said, sacred Bill of Mr. Peel, the yeomanry and their setters-on are now bearing their full share of the expense. We are now delighted to behold the innumerable rank and file of gaily-dressed and jolly-looking soldiers that pass our doors. They are so many of the labouring classes, well clothed and well fed; and we have the satisfaction to reflect that their feeding and their clothing is now coming from the capitals and estates of the gentry of life and fortune.

COURT OF CHANCERY. — Mr. Michael Angelo made a motion respecting this indescribable and unfathomable thing. The motion was lost by a very large majority, and nothing worthy of notice occurred except the "*pronouncing of an animated eulogium on the great talents and legal knowledge of the Lord Chancellor,*" by . . . whom; think you? . . . by Mr. Horace Twiss! We are delighted with this Mr. Horace Twiss. He is, as we said once before, certainly

of the true breed; he is certainly upon the right scent; but, we are afraid that he is a little too late. We are afraid that the game will be quite gone before he can possibly come up with it. He is sturdy and persevering; but a reduction of the interest of the debt, or some such thing, would play the very devil with the sport.

SIDMOUTH. — Mr. Creevey brought forward certain resolutions, number 1 to 8, which will be found in another part of our paper. The object of Mr. Creevey was to show that the public money had been wasted in pensions, and particularly in the case of Sidmouth. The motion was opposed by Mr. Bankes, who moved the order of the day, and who defended the monstrous pension granted to Sidmouth. Mr. Bennet laid on upon the "Noble Viscount" in good style; and said that he had been *no more fit to fill the Ministerial situation he lately occupied than one of the door-keepers of the House*. He reprobated the giving of such a man a pension of three thousand a-year and the clerkship of the Pells to his son. — Lord Castlereagh, on the part of the Noble Viscount, resented this language; charged Mr. Bennet with an attempt to harrow up painful domestic feelings by mentioning *the son*; and said that Mr. Bennet's speech was the most disgusting and disgraceful that had ever been uttered in the British Parliament. Mr. Brougham called Lord Castlereagh to order; the Speaker interfered, and this part of the matter ended by Lord Castlereagh's saying that he had used the words disgraceful and disgusting in a "*Parliamentary*

sense;" but that he did not, on reflection, consider them too strong. — So, there is a *Parliamentary sense*, is there, different from *common sense*! We well knew this long ago; and we believe that every man who has been an observer of what has passed in this House has known it for many years. To this "*Parliamentary sense*" it is that this nation is indebted for its present situation and its present prospects. But, coming to the matter, we really do not see that Mr. Bennet said any thing to harrow up the feelings of any body; for as to the "*Noble Viscount's feelings*," the deeds of his life, for the last five years, best show the state of tranquil security in which his feelings must be! Mr. Bennet did, indeed, mention his son; but did he depict the situation of the son? Did he utter one word from which the world could gather the nature of that situation. He certainly did not. He merely named the son as having an enormous sinecure, and fairly considered that sinecure as given to the father of "*Circular fame*." And, what a pretty thing is this, if the situation of the son be such, that the very name of the son cannot be pronounced without "*harrowing up painful domestic feelings*;" if the situation of the son be such as this, what apology is there to the suffering people of England for making them pay two or three thousand pounds a-year to that son? As to Mr. Bennet's opinion that Sidmouth was no more fit for a Minister than one of the door-keepers of the House; Mr. Bennet is by no means singular in that opinion. We declare ourselves to be of

that opinion; and besides, how do we know what clever men there are who are door-keepers of the House? To have been in constant attendance near such a mass of wisdom; to have been actually under the same roof with the Collective Wisdom of the nation, for a long succession of years, must necessarily have made men wise. However, this is all a matter of opinion; and we can say for ourselves, that, if we had the choosing of Ministers, we would prefer shutting all the door-keepers up in a pen as they do sheep, and taking our man out *by the run* to the taking of Sidmouth. We agree, therefore, entirely with Mr. Bennet upon this subject, and think him perfectly consistent in voting for the Pension Bill when it was passed and in now wishing to get rid of the practice that had arisen out of it. Mr. Brougham made a speech, but, he balanced so nicely that we cannot venture to say on which side he was, except, indeed, just at the close, where he called the surrender made by the Marquis Camden an "illustrious sacrifice" which reflected *immortal honour* upon his disinterested patriotism. Now, the facts are these: this man was and is a Teller of the Exchequer. But, want of more time compels us to break off. We must give this in our paper of to-morrow. Mr. Creevey's resolutions were lost, there being only 42 for them and 143 against them.—We have written in great hurry, and omitted to observe, in the proper place, on the notoriety of the fact, that the Ministry have gained, in the eyes of the country, an advantage such as they never gained before,

by putting Mr. Peel in the place of Sidmouth; never was such a contrast in two men as in these two. We do not want to flatter Mr. Peel, but we say in print what every one says in conversation, that Ministry have gained prodigiously by this change.

JUNE 28, 1892.

THE LORDS last night; or, rather, one Lord, Lord King, did that which makes up for all the apparent inactivity of their Lordships during the present Session. The House was in a Committee on the *Waterloo Debt* Bill. Our readers will bear in mind, that the military and naval pensions and half-pay, which the Borough gentlemen have the satisfaction to know and to feel, amount to about five millions a-year, have been formed into a sort of little National Debt, a young one, littered by the old sow. This young debt is not to be called *Expenditure* any longer; it is to be called *Debt*; and, money is to be borrowed to pay these five millions annually, or a part of them, while (good gracious God!) it is pretended that there is a *Sinking Fund* at work to diminish the mother Debt. So that, while our ingenious reducers are sweating down the Old Lady, and making her lighter for us to bear, they are creating a young one, just equal in weight to whatever they sweat off the old one. The Bill for the making of this young debt was in Committee in the LORDS, which gave Lord King an occasion of moving the following preamble, of which he had given notice on a former day. It will be found

in the report itself of the debate; but we cannot help inserting it here also. Never was any thing better conceived or better executed.

"Whereas an impatience of taxation, no less ignorant than irresistible, pervades all classes of His Majesty's subjects, and it is highly expedient to afford some relief; and whereas the minimum of relief, which will give satisfaction, and the least intelligible plan which can plausibly be stated is, that of extending the burden of the military and naval pensions over a longer period of time than the natural lives of the present annuitants, and defraying the expense of the first 16 years by a series of annual loans; and whereas, by an Act of 57 Geo. III. cap. 65., a very large provision has been made for the maintenance and half-pay of the persons now holding high and efficient offices, and it is desirable to secure the continuance of the same high and efficient public men in the offices they now hold, in order to avoid increasing the amount of dead service or half-pay so profusely provided, in case His Majesty's present confidential servants should resign their offices, contrary to all true economy, and the intent and meaning of themselves and of the Act, and of every Act of this present Parliament; and whereas there is, or will be a Sinking Fund of five millions, applicable to the redemption of the National Debt, to the relief of future generations at the expense of the present; and whereas it is also become expe-

dient to relieve the present ignorant and impatient generation at the expense of posterity, which necessary relief could be effected most advantageously by a reduction from the said Sinking Fund of a sum equal to the amount of revenue derived from those taxes which it is become so highly necessary to repeal; but whereas His Majesty's confidential servants now holding high and efficient offices, have solemnly declared that the said Sinking Fund, to the full amount of five millions aforesaid, should be maintained inviolate; and it is highly necessary that the wisdom of the said high and efficient public men should be upheld by the Lords spiritual, and also by the Lords temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, therefore be it enacted, by and with the advice of the same, that a series of loans shall be raised in a circuitous manner, and that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury shall have power to lend to themselves, and to borrow of themselves, and to conceal the whole transaction from themselves, and from all other ignorant and well disposed persons; and be it further enacted, that the Commissioners for redeeming the national debt shall likewise be the trustees appointed by this Act for raising money on annuities to provide for the payment of the naval and military pensions, and that they shall, in their capacity of trustees, create stock, and in their other capacity of Commissioners for the redemption of the National Debt shall purchase that same

"stock: or if more expedient and inexplicable, shall issue Exchequer Bills, and invest and re-invest the proceeds thereof through all the mazes of the Transfer Office, according to the will and pleasure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and make centuple entry thereof, provided always, that the aggregate of confusion and perplexity shall agree with the same sum as the deduction of the requisite amount from the Sinking Fund."

Lord Harrowby said, that he himself was willing that the preamble moved by the Noble Lord should appear on the journals of the House, in order to afford posterity a specimen of the *judicious arguments* of those who were always in the habit of charging Ministers with a deficiency in that respect. — Posterity! Posterity must come very quickly if it has to feel any interest in what is now going on. Anxious, however, as he was to have the preamble on the journals, the motion of Lord King was negatived. *Judicious arguments!* What argument; what in the shape of *reasoning* can be applied to a thing like this? It admits of nothing but burlesque representation; and that Lord King has bestowed on it in the happiest manner. We have seldom seen any thing to please us so much as this; and we are quite satisfied that it will give pleasure to every sensible man in the nation. The thing was got beyond serious discussion. A man of sense felt it degrading to his understanding to attempt to treat it in that way; and Lord King has treated it in the only way which was left him without self-

degradation in the undertaking. With this preamble having been moved the Bill goes off in proper style. It required no small talent, no little clearness of head to describe the confusion of such a thing, and in a reasonable compass, too. It is done, and completely.

In the Commons, Mr. Michael Angelo brought forward a Petition from the Paving Commissioners, which was received, and leave given to bring in a Bill, after Mr. Peel had complimented the Hon. Member on the laudable and active superintendence with which he *watched over* the comfort and improvement of the metropolis. There was a "hear! hear!" when Mr. Peel said this; and we must confess that this Mr. Michael Angelo is one of the most pains-taking gentlemen, even in that House. The Hon. Member's father was, we have understood, an architect, and hence, probably, the Christian name of Michael Angelo prefixed to the surname of Taylor.—Love of pretty buildings and streets and a dislike to dirt and smoke appear to have been hereditary in this case, very much, as Mr. Peel says, to our comfort and improvement; but we, speaking for ourselves, can say that the Paving Acts produce expenses which we find very burdensome, and which we wish Mr. Michael Angelo would find some way of reducing. It is very easy to bring in Bills about paving, but not so easy to pay the tax that they impose; and we are very much disposed to believe, that such Bills should be passed with very great care and caution.

LICENSING BILL.—This Bill,
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brought in by Mr. Bennet, was read a third time and passed, with only fifty-nine Members present in the House. It appears to have been slipped away to almost nothing; but, there is this comfort, that whatever it does to make a change in the present law *must be for the better*. Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor said he had been a Magistrate for thirty years, and had never known an abuse. Mr. Bootle Wilbraham (the Lancashire man) had an objection to an appeal to the Quarter Sessions, which is very surprising, because this would be nothing but an appeal from magistrates to magistrates. During the debates on this Bill, several Members observed on the power which *parsons* had as magistrates. We think that much of the alarm on that account may now cease; for, if we are not greatly deceived, those "spiritual persons" will soon have work enough to do in attending to the preservation of their own temporalities against the furious assaults which the lay owners of land are beginning to make upon them.—This will certainly keep them busy, and we are deceived if it do not end in a manner satisfactory to all men that love justice and sincerity. The *tract-trade* will slacken, we think, and we have the comfort to be pretty sure, that we shall hear very little more from either Bench or Pulpit about sedition and blasphemy. Six-Acts will be a dead letter, and the parsons will have to grapple with things of a less metaphysical nature.

SLAVE TRADE.—Mr. Wilberforce brought forward a long and tedious string of resolutions, the tendency of which was to com-

plain of the conduct of foreign nations, and particularly of the French, for suffering the Slave-trade to be carried on with as much vigour as ever. The resolutions concluded with conjuring the King to *renew his remonstrances* on this subject with foreign powers. Lord Castlereagh did not oppose the motion. Sir James Macintosh said, that his "Noble Friend, the Duke de Broglie," was against the traffic. He took occasion, also, to express his respect for Lord Grenville. He said a great many other things, but not very applicable to the subject. Mr. W. Smith said, that ninety or a hundred vessels had sailed from our ports on the slave-trade. Now, as to the merits of the question: what is His Majesty to *remonstrate* about? Why, he is to complain of the French and other nations, for making up their stock of slaves, which was taken from them by us during the late wars. He is to say, my colonies are stocked, and, for the love of humanity, I wish you not to stock yours. Such remonstrance might be very well if we had not a Fundholder's Debt, a Waterloo Debt, and the like; but, Mr. Wilberforce ought to be well assured that the negotiator, who is notoriously unable to go to war, may as well keep his tongue quiet in his head and spare himself the waste of ink and paper. If Mr. Wilberforce will first agree to a Parliamentary Reform that would deprive him, very probably, of a seat in Parliament, and that would certainly put an end to the Borough of Bramber, then those best friends of the foreign slave-trade, the *figure of eight*, and the *eight ci-*

phers, which stand posted up at the Stock Exchange, telling all the world that we are unable to go to war, may receive a rubbing off of one of the ciphers, and then His Majesty may remonstrate with effect. Only rub off one of those ciphers and we pledge ourselves that the French will become as humane as we are. —It is that figure of eight and the eight ciphers that gave protection to the foreign slave-trade. Nations always remonstrate foolishly unless they remonstrate with cannon-ball. Mr. Wilberforce ought to know this very well, by what he has upon a smaller scale much nearer home. This gentleman and Sir James Macintosh, eulogized the humanity of the Government of the United States in this respect, as far as related to its own practice with regard to the slave-trade. They do not know perhaps, that the slave-trade is carried on with such vigour in the city of Washington itself. They do not know that Negro-slavery exists in all its vigour in the far greater part of the United States. They know nothing of the slave-marts; the scores of slave-marts in that country, where a man, his wife and children are frequently put upon a table, sold off separately at the hammer, and carried away by the purchasers, never to behold each other again! They know nothing of these things, of course, or they would hardly bestow praise on such detestable cruelty and still more detestable hypocrisy. There may be something said for taking the Africans out of their state of barbarism; but what can be said for the damnable acts continually perpe-

trated by the Southern Americans on the natives of their own soil, on their countrymen and countrywomen; of which acts, however, we must do the Americans from the State of Delaware North and Eastward the justice to declare free. They hold those deeds in as much or more abhorrence than Mr. Wilberforce does, and he will gain little favour with them for his praises of the general government in this respect. —It came out, in the debate, that the American and French Governments had refused to adopt a MUTUAL RIGHT OF SEARCH, in order to prevent this trade being carried on! Aye, we will warrant it they have! They remember *right of search*; they know what that means very well; and this plainly shows *before-hand*, what they intend if our figure of eight and eight ciphers continue. *Remonstrate*, indeed! We are in a pretty state to remonstrate upon subjects like these! —Lord Castlereagh said, "while those *two powerful nations*" —Oh, ho, there are two of them, then, are there? It is no longer Canning's, "half a dozen frigates with bits of striped bunting flying at the mast-head;" it is no longer a subject for the jester, for the bantering writer of State-papers. "While those two powerful nations were indisposed to co-operate in the objects of Great Britain, it was in vain to expect that the Netherlands, Spain or Portugal should exert themselves to put a stop to that trade." Indeed! Why then this great negotiator of the Holy Alliance has made a discovery, at last. He was a long time bothered by the clapping and huzzing that

he received from the collective upon his returning from settling the affairs of the world and from rounding the climax of our glory; but he has now discovered that there are two powerful nations, and that even the little nations follow their example in setting us at defiance. He has discovered that when a couple of dogs keep a big dog at bay, even the little cur's will come and bark at if not bite him. Mr. Wilberforce; a word in your ear, Sir: read "Reduction no Robbery" or Mr. Cobbett's Letter to the Freeholders of Kent, particularly the latter part of it; and there, only for *threepence*, you will see all the reasons why every remonstrance that His Majesty may be disposed to make will assuredly prove unavailing.

There are other topics which we are compelled to defer until to-morrow.

JUNE 29, 1892.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—(Thursday night.)—Want of room compelled us to break off yesterday without noticing what was said upon the subject of the famine in Ireland. To know that there are any part of the people of this kingdom in a state of want of a *sufficiency* of food, is calculated to call forth, in the first place, compassion for the sufferers, and in the next place, a frank declaration of our opinions, if it were safe to declare them, towards those who have had the uncontrolled management of the affairs of the nation, and who have long been drawing sixty millions of pounds sterling a-year from it in taxes. No language could furnish us with words adequate to

the expression of what we ought to feel, if even a short allowance of food was to be obtained by so large a portion of the people as make up the population of three or four counties of Ireland. Of what description, then, ought our feelings to be when Sir John Newport, standing up in his place in the House of Commons, states as a positive and undeniable fact, not loosely and generally that famine is raging in Ireland, but that; in one parish *fifteen persons had actually perished by famine*; that twenty-eight more persons were past all hopes of recovery; that one hundred and twenty persons; still in the same parish, were ill from fever produced by want; that other parishes were nearly in the same state; that in one parish there had been found food only for two days, and, at the date of the letter, they had been without food three days; and that, horrible to relate! in this parish the Catholic parish priest had actually prepared his parishioners for their inevitable death by absolution and those other rites used by the Catholics to persons just going to die!—We are fully convinced that a tale like this was never told before in the civilized world. And, at this very moment, the measures of the Ministry for the relief of Agriculture in England are bottomed upon the assertion made a hundred times over, that for a series of years, up to the present time inclusive, the crops have been *superabundant*, and that we are suffering the evil of over-production, and that the remedy for the farmer is, a diminished quantity in the harvest. Oh! unhappy kingdom! Whose people are

dying with famine amidst a superabundance of food! — Mr. Goulburn, who has lately had a large pension settled upon him in case he should be out of office, and who is now what they call Chief Secretary of Ireland; this Mr. Goulburn said that, with every exertion on the part of Government; but we must take his words; for this is a subject of too much importance to be past over slightly and to be easily forgotten.

Mr. Goulburn acquitted the Right Honourable Baronet of any but the purest motives, and assured him that he felt as deeply as the Right Honourable Baronet, or any Gentleman, the awful calamity; the more so, because with every exertion on the part of the Government, and *with all the aid of man, much misery must take place.* He alluded particularly to those parts of the country in which, from the state of communications the conveyance of provisions was a matter of time and difficulty. He had that day received accounts *to a degree confirmatory* of the assertions of the Right Honourable Baronet, as to the extent of the suffering, especially in the county of Galway. Some time since the accounts from that county were so alarming, that though he knew the Lord Lieutenant was in communication with the gentry there, he had thought fit to ship to two ports of Galway, cargoes of the most portable species of provision, *naval biscuit.* In consequence of the intelligence he had received that day, he had directed farther shipments (hear!); and though all efforts *might be insufficient* to avoid the calamity, they might have the *satisfaction* of having done *all that was in their power.* In addition to what was done on this side of the water, the Lord Lieutenant had now the additional sum of 100,000*l.*

which according to the terms, of the vote, was granted for the *employment of the poor*, but which, where there were no means of employing them, would be applied to their immediate relief. *The engineer who directed the works to be undertaken, had also a discretion to act upon the instant, without reference to any authority, that no delay might interfere with the efficacy of the relief (hear!).*

This is very pretty talk; but though no power on earth can bring the dead to life, Mr. Goulburn will find it very hard to persuade us, that the same power which can shut people up in their houses from sunset to sunrise is not equal to the discovering of the approaching starvation of that same people. He will find it very hard to persuade us that those who possess the former power did not possess the latter, and still more difficult will he find it to persuade us that those who could raise a surplus of five millions a-year as a Sinking Fund to add to the stock of the fundholders, had not the power to provide the means of preventing the starvation of those, whose situation they must have known so well, when they had the power to watch them so narrowly as to shut them up in their houses from sunset to sunrise.—As to the *giving employment* to these poor creatures; as to the laying out of taxes upon public works under an engineer in order to convey money to the starving creatures to purchase them food, was there ever such a thing heard of before since man was man? How are the people to labour without the strength to labour? How are they to have the strength without first having the food?

And then again, why not give them the money and let them employ the labour upon the land; why, when they are in a state of famishing for want of food, erect *public works* out of which no food can come; why draw away the food that is to be got with the money and employ it in a way from which no creation of new food can proceed.—Vain, however, is it to put questions like these to those who have the support of unreformed Parliament.—Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who called Mr. Goulburn his Right Hon. Friend, vouched for the fact, stated by Sir John Newport, of the preparation for death by the Catholic priests. He eulogised the *patience* with which the famished creatures had borne their sufferings; and he was *loudly cheered!* We know not well what to say on the subject of this patience and shall therefore hold our tongues. This gentleman related that an aged clergyman having received a donation for the famishing people, he was afraid to attempt the distribution lest his frame should be unable to sustain the pressure of the raving applicants. He, therefore, “moored a boat at some distance from the shore, whence he sent the tickets for provisions from the store; but such was the earnestness of the unfortunate claimants, that those who were strong enough to bear the buffeting of the waves, swam off to the boat, clinging to it till he delivered them the tickets for the relief of their families.—(Hear, hear.)”—Such is the picture which the Irish Members themselves give of the state of their

country. For such a case all laws and usages ought to give way; all maxims of policy; all rules; all general principles. Ships, boats, vessels of every description ought to be sent off, and from every port. If money were wanted there are troops, and they should be sent to seize the food wherever it is to be found, until the shocking scene be put an end to. If we had been Ministers, we would long ago have ascertained the facts, and bacon should have been a crown a pound in London before a Catholic priest in Ireland should have been called upon to prepare his parishioners for death from starvation. But what a horrible reflection that the people of only *two or three counties* in Ireland should be suffered to be in this state. If Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire were even approaching such a state, would Kent or Norfolk, or in short, any other county, enjoy, we will not say a moment's happiness, but a moment's peace, until the distressed counties were as well off as themselves? Where are all the other counties in Ireland? What are they at; where are all the landlords and all the clergy of that country? Are we told that the Catholic priests are preparing whole parishes for death, and do we see amongst the means of relief a Ball at the Opera House in London! One thing it is necessary always to bear in mind; and that is, that Ireland has not been governed by jacobins and radicals. Let what may have been the cause of these calamities, we, the jacobins and radicals, have had no hand in producing them, to which we have

only to add, show us, *loyal men*, if you can, that jacobins and radicals could have produced a worse state of things. Mr. Wilberforce said that, whatever money was wanted on this occasion, ought to be given. Holme Sumner thought an address to the Crown was the proper measure, authorizing *any expenditure* that might be necessary. — We, for our parts, are for relieving the people, cost what it may. But, at the same time, pray let us make this observation. *Money*, it seems, is wanted in Ireland. Now people do not eat money. No, but the money will buy them something to eat. What, then, *the food is there* then, it seems! Pray observe this reader. Pray observe this, and let the parties get out of the concern if they can. **THE FOOD IS THERE**; but those that have it in their possession will not give it without the money! And we know that the food is there; but since this famine has been declared in Parliament, *thousands of quarters of corn* have been imported every week from Ireland into England! It is the *money*, then; that the poor creatures want, and that they cannot have except a part of that is restored which has been taken away from them in *taxes*. To this point we always come at last; here is the immediate cause of all the evils that afflict the country. — In going downward, we next find the debt and other consequences of the war; and at the bottom we find the root of the whole, *the want of a real Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament*. The evil is *radical* that is to say belonging to the root; and the cure must be

radical or there can be no cure at all. We have never yet heard what are the means to make this starvation cease; and we are firmly convinced that it will not cease with this season nor with next season, nor with any season until the interest of the Debt be reduced, and the taxation lowered. There is no scarcity except scarcity of money, amongst those who labour. To talk, therefore, of sending seed-potatoes, and to amuse ourselves with other expedients, such as are put forth by the stupid press of London can only serve to push things on to a state, to get out of which there is only *one way*.

The proceedings of *last night* were of very great interest; but we have not room for them until Monday. The Ministers were hard pushed upon the question of the Salt Duty; and we hope, rather more than we believe, that that branch of tax-gathering will be yet completely taken out of their hands.

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JULY 1, 1832.

IN the LORDS there was nothing worthy of particular notice.

In the COMMONS the subjects were: — *Irish Catholic Clergy; Roasted Corn; Scotch Juries; Case of Borthwick; Scurfin; Salt Tax; Filling the House; British Museum.*

IRISH CATHOLIC CLERGY.—Mr. J. Brown gave notice that, in the first week of the next Session, he should bring forward a motion for providing for the Irish Catholic Clergy out of the public Revenue. And we give Mr. J. Brown notice, that we shall with all our might, with whatever means we may possess, oppose any and every such project. It

will be a pretty scheme indeed, while two-elevenths, or almost *one-fifth* of the whole of the produce of the land in Ireland, is bestowed in patronage by the Government and by the great families for the support of the Protestant Church, and for the conversion of Catholics to the Protestant religion, the people of England and of Scotland were to be called upon for a part of the fruit of the sweat of their brow to support the Catholic Clergy of Ireland! Oh! no! We shall not quietly submit to a scheme like this, and of that Mr. Brown may be assured. If the Catholic Clergy be to be supported out of taxes, let those taxes be raised upon the land and labour of Ireland.

ROASTED CORN.—Mr. Lushington moved the third reading of the Roasted Corn Bill. Sir Robert Wilson moved a clause for remitting the fines that had been imposed upon the roasters. Upon an understanding that the fines were to be remitted, the motion was withdrawn.—We are very glad that this thing is called by its *plain name* at last, and we shall not be at all sorry at an effectual prevention of selling it under any other name. If it had been called roasted corn from the beginning, there never would have been fine or prosecution. We repeat, for the information of our readers, that rye is the grain to make it of; and it is very well known that rye may now be bought for little more than a *half-penny* a pound. Properly prepared, the rye coarsely ground as coffee is, is not inferior to coffee in smell or taste, and is wholly free from its bad qualities. The

country people make it for themselves; and competition will soon cause it to be sold in the towns at such a price as will leave reasonable profit, and no more.

SCOTCH JURIES.—A dismal subject; and one that will never be settled in the manner that it ought to be as long as the Parliament remains unreformed.

BORTHWICK.—A Petition was presented from him by Mr. Abercrombie. Our readers will recollect that this man was the Editor and ostensible proprietor of a Pittite newspaper, the business of which was to assault and pull down the Whigs; that Borthwick took in a partner of the name of Alexander; that Alexander bought him out; that Alexander did not pay him; that Borthwick then went back and took possession of the office; that he now took away manuscript papers in the office; that he showed some of these papers, and amongst the rest, those written by Boswell, which produced the duel between him and Stuart; that Borthwick was afterwards laid hold of by the law, charged with felony for taking away these papers, and otherwise dealt with according to the fashion of the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who had been one of the proprietors of the newspaper in question. The present proceedings in the House about this Borthwick are manifestly intended to worry the Lord Advocate and the Government on account of these stretches of power with regard to Borthwick, who complains of having been unjustly imprisoned and cruelly treated in prison. Our readers will look at the conduct of Borthwick; they will see that he had been the in-

strutment in spreading all those atrocious calumnies that the Whigs complain of; and, while they will by no means, we trust, approve of unjust imprisonment or cruel treatment in prison, let the parties be who they may, they will also, we trust, reflect that the case of Borthwick is wholly unworthy of notice when compared with that of Mr. John Knight, Mr. Dewhurst, Joseph Swann, and scores of others, of which the Whigs have taken no more notice, than if these men had been only so many sparrows or so many mice.—Look at Mr. John Knight's Petition (inserted in the *STATESMAN* a few days back); look at that petition; there the Whigs might have found something worthy of making a debate about. We have no scruple to say that we care not a straw what becomes of the country, unless that very man's wrongs be redressed. God knows how many years of dungeoning he has suffered. Whole months he has been loaded with irons; and, after all, sedition is the highest crime he has been tried for. He has been kept in gaol altogether more than a year; first under an alleged suspicion of treason; and then under a charge of high treason, and under that charge prevented from being out on bail until the time came for trial, when the charge of high treason was abandoned, and he was tried for sedition and clapped into a dungeon for two years longer! All this was stated in his petition presented to the House of Commons within these three weeks, and the tender-hearted Whigs, those vigilant guardians of our liberties and lives, who were all in such an

irritable state about this Borthwick, said not a single word upon that petition! Poh! let them take their Borthwick and make the most of him. Let them take him into their own employment. Let him form part of their relays of gossippers that ply between Brooke's and the Lobby of the House; but let not us bother our brains with this Whig and Tory squabble.

SAURIN (late Attorney-General in Ireland).—Incidentally there came out a sort of question from Mr. Brougham to the Ministers relative to a letter; said to have been written by Mr. Saurin to the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, containing matter, as stated by Mr. Brougham, suggesting to the Chief Justice to make use of his official situation on the circuit to produce certain political effects, and especially to the return of Members to Parliament.—Mr. Brougham said, that he had read this letter in the *Morning Chronicle* of that day. Upon referring to the *Morning Chronicle* we find it stated that the letter was picked up on the quay of Dublin some little time ago. We inserted it in our paper of Saturday last.—Mr. Brougham's object appears to have been to get from the Ministers some acknowledgment upon the subject.—Mr. Peel answered, that he knew nothing of the letter; that he was willing to believe, that Mr. Brougham had reluctantly made this notice of a private letter, alleged to have been found in the public streets, and which, if it were so found, Mr. Brougham must have known that the person who found it, instead of giving it publicly, ought

to have returned it to the owner. which the letter was obtained ;
 " He did not say whether the inveighed very strongly against
 " letter were genuine or not, but violation of private confidence ;
 " this he would say, that he said that all papers addressed to
 " would much rather be the wri- private uses should only be applied
 " ter, were it ten thousand times to purposes for which they were
 " worse, than be the person who specifically intended ; he would
 " gave it publicity."—Bless us ! almost go the length of Mr. Peel ;
 How scrupulous is this Mr. Peel ! and, at any rate, he did not know
 How different was it in the days the thing that he would not do,
 of Sidmouth ! Readers remem- rather than "*procure such a let-*
 ber Magennis's letters. Remem- *ter by foul means.*"—Thank you,
 ber the letters between Mr. John Mr. Brougham, thank you : there
 Knight and his wife. Remember is Mr. Cobbett's case against Sir
 the producing of the private letter Francis Burdett and the Rump.
 against Sir Charles Wollesley. There it is ; private letters divulged ;
 Remember, in short, the right private letters used for pur-
 which the gaulers have assumed poses for which they were never
 to ransack private letters, not to intended ; private letters procured
 and from felons ; but men impris- by the foulest of means, and used
 oned for political offences, not for the foulest of purposes ; that
 one of which has been a thou- is to say, procured from the late
 sandth part so great as that of confidential servant of the writer,
 this Saurin, if he really were the and promulgated avowedly, and
 author of the letter published in upon oath for the purpose of do-
 the *Morning Chronicle*. Mr. Peel ing injury to the character of a
 thinks that there can be found person then living in friendship
 letters *ten thousand times worse and intimacy with the writer.*
than this. What, then, suppose Thank you, Mr. Brougham. But
 him to find a letter written by us now, Mr. Brougham, we will say
 to somebody else, containing a nothing about the defence of the
 plan for killing the king. It spy system ; but was not that late
 would be a *private* letter, mind ; confidential servant of Mr. Cob-
 and would he not divulge it ? bett placed in a witness-box just
 We should be loath to trust him. before your face ; was he not
 We should very much fear that he asked by his late extravagantly,
 would not bring it to us or send prodigally, generous employer ;
 it to us. We are persons "*out was not that John Wright of Pan-*
of doors," to be sure, and, there- ton Alley, who lodges at a tailor's
 fore, not entitled to the benefits of the name of Grainger ; was
 of this scrupulous morality ; but not that witness for your client,
 if we had been in the place of Cleary, asked by Mr. Cobbett
 Mr. Brougham, we would have whether he had ever shown the
 pushed the Home Secretary a private letters of the latter to this
 little closer to the wall. Mr. person or to that person ; was he
 Brougham chose a different course. not at last asked, *whether he ever*
 He rather apologized for having *showed them* to Mr. Brougham ;
 started the subject ; disclaimed and did he not, with a look in
 all knowledge of the means by your face enough to melt your

heart, answer, "YES I DID;" and did not the Judge, and the Bar, and the Jury, and the whole Court seem to be struck with the marks of affection between the parties?—Now, Mr. Brougham, if Mr. Peel's doctrine and your doctrine, too, be sound, and we allow it to have been perfectly sound, and we applaud Mr. Peel for the justness and correctness of his sentiment, and should have only pushed on its discordance with the practice of the Government with regard to Mr. John Knight and others; if this doctrine be sound; if it be dishonourable to keep a private letter that you find in the streets, and basely dishonourable it certainly is; if it be the duty of the finder to carry such letter to the owner, what was *your duty towards Mr. Cobbett*, when his late confidential servant came with a whole mass of his private letters bound up in a volume, and laid them before you? We leave you to answer this question; and if you do it not, an honest public will do it for you. As to the merits of the case, what hypocrisy must it be to pretend to carp at the contents of Saurin's letter while we have the fate of Mr. Maddock's memorable motion in our eyes. And while we recollect that the Opposition, yea, the great Whigs themselves, would not vote for an inquiry into the affairs of Quintin Dick, because the facts alleged, and the practice which they developed, were as "*notorious as the sun at noonday*."

SALT TAX.—Mr. Curwen made a motion for doing away with the whole of the Salt Tax, instead of leaving on the two shillings a bushel; but the Ministers carried

their point by a majority of twelve. There being 104 for them and 92 against them. This question, however, may be revived yet. Because there is a Bill yet to be brought in to be passed, upon the subject.

FILLING THE HOUSE.—Mr. Peel having moved the order of the day for a Committee on the Alien Bill, there arose some sharp observations as to whose fault it was that the House had been so frequently unfilled, and that so much business was left to be done at the close of the Session. Mr. Peel said it was as much the fault of the gentlemen opposite as of the Ministers. This conversation closed in a droll way enough. The report says, "Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, with *warmth*, appealed to the Speaker *"whether he was ever missing a day at four o'clock.—(A laugh, Chair!)"*

BRITISH MUSEUM.—Mr. Banks moved some 9,425*l.* 13*s.* for this year's support of the *British Museum*! Not a word of opposition to this, and Mr. Bennet even wanted some more money laid out by way of pension to a Dr. somebody that had the care of the stuffed crocodiles, the curious cockle-shells and other wonders of the creation. We thought that all this sickly stuff would come to an end with the death of the old butterfly merchant of Soho-square. At any rate, if there be people willing to expend money in such a childish way it ought to come out of their own pockets and not out of the sweat of the people. Here are pretty nearly 10,000*l.* a-year; enough to maintain all the poor in ten considerable parishes; enough to main-

tain five hundred parishes at 10l. a-year a-piece. Here goes a thirtieth part of the hop-tax smash. We are for none of your economy and retrenchment gentlemen that applaud the voting of 10,000l. a-year upon British Museums. Of the two we would rather see it laid out in sinecures and pensions. It would then, probably, enable some pretty women to dress better, and some bucks to ride better horses; things much more rational, useful and honourable to human nature, than making collections of earwigs and of the eggs of caterpillars. A fig for your retrenchment and economy that generously expends the fruit of English labour upon British Museums. We congratulated the French nation upon the breaking up of their butterfly shop, and thought Buonaparte a vain fool for having established it. We thank the Ministers for having dissolved that most ridiculous thing, the Board of Agriculture; and we trust we shall yet have to thank them for taking this thing out of the list of our expenses. They may do what they will with the Museum. They may, for aught we care, divide the nonsenses amongst themselves, though of such acquisitions they appear not to stand in need. One condition, however, we think the nation has a right to insist upon, and particularly we who have gardens near London; and that is, that the butterfly, caterpillars, and other insects, shall not come out of the place *alive*, but shall be destroyed, or stuffed with straw or preserved with spirits, or, at least, put to death in some way or other, before the division of these valuables shall take place,

as these things are said to belong to the nation, we, of course, are entitled to a share, and that share we hereby give to Mr. Banks, who, besides all his other great merits, has the honour to be namesake of the great butterfly merchant himself.

JULY 2, 1832.

IN the LORDS (last night) the new Corn Bill was postponed till Wednesday. A petition was presented against it from the *Editor of the Farmers Journal*. We do not blame Doctor Holditch, or Olditch, for this petition; though it may smell a little of the shop. The Bill is good for nothing; for whenever wheat gets up to seventy shillings there will have been a change in the value of the currency; and that will do more in one minute than this Bill will do in fifty years. We suppose this Bill will pass; but we should not be much surprised if it did not, for certainly a more useless Bill never occupied the attention of the Parliament.

In the COMMONS there was a petition from Mr. Maddocks; a question about the New Churches; the Budget; the Alien Bill, and a notice for Mr. Western's motion.

Mr. Maddock's petition complained of Special Juries and of his sentence having been aggravated in consequence of the manner in which he conducted his defence. Mr. Maddocks, we recollect, conducted his defence in a very spirited and becoming manner; and he will always be respected for it by every one who has the pleasure to know him. There appears to have been very little said upon this petition, which, however, was of much greater

importance than the case of Borthwick, which was suffered to occupy the time of the House for two or three whole nights.

New Churches.—Out of a conversation relative to the building of new churches, arose a question from Mr. Curwen to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "from what fund the clergymen of the new churches were to be paid." We beg our readers to attend to the answer! It was this, "That grants had been made from year to year to the poorer clergy; and it was intended as times got better to extend them for those who officiated in these churches."—Here's pretty work! So, not only are the parsons of the church to have a tenth part of the produce of the earth; not only are they to have all the parsonage-houses, glebes, immense landed estates, forests, chases and manors; but they are to have immense sums out of the taxes besides, though it is notorious that their congregations do not make up any thing like a fourth part of the population of England and Wales. Enormous and crying aloud for redress is the evil already; and now the Catholics of Ireland and the Presbyterians of Scotland and all the numerous bodies of dissenters in England and Wales, are, it seems, to pay taxes to be given to this over rich body of men, called the clergy of the Church of England. According to the original foundation of the church and the tithes, a fourth part of the income of the benefices was to be applied to the keeping up of the buildings of the churches. Out of the revenues of the church, therefore, the money ought to have come to

build new churches if they were necessary; but instead of that, the money is taken out of taxes raised from the sweat of the people, and, in part, from the Catholics of Ireland and the Presbyterians of Scotland. In like manner about *twelve hundred thousand pounds* of the public money have, within the last twelve years, been granted out of the taxes for what are called the poorer clergy of the church, while it is notorious that there are bishops with thirty thousand pounds a-year each; and while it is equally notorious that the beneficed clergy are in great part non-resident, and have, including Ireland, from two to five livings a-piece. In short, it is notorious, that they are wallowing in wealth up to their eyes, though the people have been paying for many years past, a *hundred thousand pounds a-year* for the relief of the poorer clergy of this very church, and that not one single Member of the precious House has ever, during all those years, objected to the making such grants. A gentleman who has just published a pamphlet at Mr. Wilson's, of the Royal Exchange, has proved, that "the Church of England Clergymen receive in the year *more money than all the Clergymen of all the rest of the whole Christian world put together.*" And yet it seems that, when "times get better," these grants out of the taxes are to be extended to this body of men! But is he dreaming (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) or is he awake; is he for increasing the number of these idlers while hundreds and thousands of the people are starving in Ireland, and while even his very

friends and supporters are proposing to abolish the tithes in Ireland? Of all the acts ever done by this Government; of all the things that Perceval and the like of Perceval ever proposed, and of all the things ever sanctioned by the Parliament, nothing, in our opinion, ever came up to these grants of the Clergy of the Church out of the public money. Nevertheless, if they keep Peel's Bill in force; nay if the Bank be compelled to pay in gold at its own shop, we for our parts, care very little what is done with the sums raised in taxes, knowing well, as we do, that the burden must fall upon the backs of the *landlords*, at last. They will have to yield their estates; and the *people* will do pretty well while the process is going on. All we wish is to point this project out as a fresh warning to the *farmers*, not to remain to be stripped of the last penny of their capital. Let the landlords bear all the burden, and we are satisfied.

BUDGET.—A budget is a bag or bundle that a fellow carries about filled with various things of heterogeneous nature, not very valuable in their essence, and generally looked upon with rather a suspicious eye, hence, we suppose, this vulgar term applied to these annual general statements about the finances of the country. The present Budget was very well described by Mr. Maberly, who called it the annual mass of hocus pocus, and who, as our readers will see, exposed the tricks with a degree of patience which we find ourselves wholly unable to imitate; and, indeed, no examination of the principal feature of the thing is necessary after the

preamble, moved by Lord King upon the Waterloo Stock Bill, and which preamble we published the other day. There were three or four things upon which we shall, however, offer a remark. The East India Company are to receive *one million three hundred thousand pounds*; and we were sorry to perceive Mr. Hume suffering this enormous sum to slide away without a word upon the subject. This is a matter of great magnitude, requiring that full and regular exposure which it will receive in the *next Register*.—It was announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the Borough Bank had determined to *discount at four per cent.* So then, while money will be to be borrowed any where at four per cent. the loan jobber and his bands of under stockholders are to receive five per cent. We heard of a man in Herefordshire who, last summer, reading in a newspaper that the Bank was going to discount at four per cent. quietly got upon the outside of a coach, came to London, sold out his stock, and took home the gold; for, said he, I thought they would never give me five per cent. long, if every body else got but four per cent.—The truth is, that this is a scheme for relieving the Landlords whose estates *are mortgaged*, and for no other purpose whatever. It is a disturbance of property to a certain extent. It is a lessening of the money value of all property.—It is one of the infallible signs of poverty. It will lessen the value of land as to its money price, and will only afford a temporary relief, or rather a *nominal* relief to the landlord whose estate is deeply mort-

gaged. It is, above all things, a sign of national poverty. It must necessarily lead to a lower interest; and though our little hero does say that he *cannot give his assent* (it was not *called for*, by the bye) to a forced reduction of the interest of the debt, he can hardly be so crazy as to believe, that the public are fools enough not to see that it is a step preparatory to that very reduction which was openly and honestly prayed for by the sensible and spirited yeomen and tradesmen of the county of Kent. We have just to add our great pleasure to find a Budget for once without a *new tax*.

MR. WESTERN'S NOTICE.—He said that his intended resolutions, to be brought forward on Wednesday, he should simply move to have printed. This is very judicious. It is just the right way to proceed in. The Ministers will scarcely oppose the printing. If they do, we shall hear *what they have to say*. We only hope that Mr. Western, in comparing the value of money at the two epochs, will not take the Ricardo standard; but the standard of produce of the land.

JULY 3, 1822.

IN THE LORDS, Lord Grey presented petitions against the new *Corn Bill*. He took occasion to observe that the measures which had been adopted for relief were wholly inefficient, and that the result to be anticipated was, a *transfer of the land from the hands of the present possessors*. The consequence of which must be, that *that House* would lose a great part of its influence and authority. We deem this a bad argument, if the

object be to save the landlords; for, certainly, that House has, in our opinion, all the influence and all the authority at this present moment, because it is the possessor of that species of property, which, in connexion with that House, we do not choose to name, but which property is very well understood by the public at large.—Lord Liverpool said, that he did not believe that such would be the result of the state of Agricultural distress; but, certainly, *if it were*, no reduction of taxation could prevent it, unless it were carried to an extent such as would commit a serious breach of faith with the public creditor by preventing the payment of the interest of the public debt.—This is saying very little: it is merely saying that the fundholders will have the estates if the landlords do not; and this we know very well. We need no stern-path-of-duty man to tell us that to save the estates of the present possessors, you must take a great part of the funds from the fundholders. We, for our parts, shall never consent to a reduction of the interest of the Debt, without, at the same time, having a reform of the Parliament. The question with the Boroughmen is this, whether they shall keep the estates and lose the boroughs; or, keep the boroughs for a while, and lose the estates first and the boroughs afterwards. We very anxiously wish for the former; but it is the affair of their Honours, and be it as their Honours please!

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Petition of Mr. John Gale Jones (which we should like to see in print); it expressed the petitioner's surprise at the ignorance of the Govern-

ment, with regard to the causes of the distress in Ireland; it alleged that provisions might have been purchased in this country within the last year; it said that the pressure of famine might have been mitigated and the English farmers relieved by the sending of provisions from this country to that; it stated that if the calamities of Ireland had been connected with political matters, the hired informers and spies of the Government would have been vigilant in imparting information, and certain of ample reward; and the petition appears to have closed by calling upon the Ministers to state in the House how it was that these particular things had not been attended to?—This was a good petition; very proper; very suitable to the occasion, and entitles the petitioner to great praise.—There was some dispute, as to whether the petition contained a prayer; but it was brought up and ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Jones is mistaken in one particular: and that is, in supposing that Ireland is or has been in *want of provisions*. Many hundreds of quarters of corn were brought into the London market from Ireland last week, and some thousands of quarters into Liverpool. It is the *money*, Mr. Jones, of which the poor wretches in Ireland have been deprived. It is *money*, you see, that is sent to them. But you are perfectly correct as to the surprising circumstance of *want of information*. As you well observe, where were the informers; and, as we observed last Saturday (we think it was) where were those who had information so accurate as to call for a law to shut the people up in their houses from

sunset to sunrise, and who yet could not inform the Government of the approaching starvation of the people?

SMALL-NOTE BILL!—Here we come. The words are fair, the subject great, the thing done, almost secretly; and there we must watch as pussy watches for her prey. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the second reading of the Small-notes Bill.—Mr. Hume asked for some explanations. The reporters say “we could not collect the answer of the Right Honourable Gentleman; but it appeared to *satisfy* Mr. Hume and Mr. Ricardo.”—Mr. James wished to know whether bank-notes were to be made a legal tender after May 1823? This was the home question; and now mind the answer. The worthy Chancellor replied, “that every man was liable after that period, to pay his just debts in the current coin of the realm.”—Now what does this mean? If I hold a one-pound rag of a country ragman, that is a just debt due from him to me, and is the ragman to be called upon to pay me in gold? *Nous verrons!* Though that phrase, which only means we shall see, was once so displeasing to Mr. Hily Hutchinson. Lord Folkestone objected to the Bill, because it would bring back the forgeries and the hangings. Mr. Hart Davis supported the Bill, because the currency was not abundant, and because the present measure would make it more abundant without interfering with the other enactments respecting the currency. How so, Mr. Davis? We take upon ourselves to assure you, that if there be no legal tender clause, the currency

cannot become more abundant than it is, but on the contrary, will be a great deal less abundant after May 1823. Nothing will be done without legal tender; and legal tender is a repeal of Peel's Bill, in part. Mr. James said, that as the people were to have the option of demanding gold or paper, they deserve whatever might happen if they did not demand the gold; but, nevertheless, he was still opposed to the principle of the Bill. Mr. Pascoe Grenfell, had understood, when the Bill was introduced, that the country bankers were to have the option of paying in *Sovereigns, or in Bank of England Notes*; he did not see any provision in the Bill to that effect; and if not introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he himself should introduce such a clause! Ah, Pascoe! sayest thou so, Pascoe? What, then, thou art determined that we shall have that *feast of the Gridiron*, to which, whenever we hold it, thou shalt certainly have an invitation. This is legal tender; mark that. It is legal tender of borough bank-notes after the month of May 1823; and that is a part repeal of Peel's Bill. Mr. James was so decidedly hostile to the principle of the Bill, which appeared to be the first step in the road back of the mischievous paper-money, that he was determined to divide the House upon it. Mr. Curwen trusted his Honourable Friend (Mr. James) would not divide the House. He said "the country stood in need of the measure, and in the country they preferred the small notes of country bankers to any other species of currency." Indeed, Mr. Curwen, why then

does Mr. Pascoe Grenfell propose to compel the people to take the country bank-notes instead of the gold, that is to say, if the country bankers themselves choose to compel them? And how is it, we pray you, Mr. Curwen, that the country bankers will not now pay in gold? And how is it that Scotch bankers will not give gold for their own notes, though to our certain knowledge, some of them have been offered a premium for so doing? Mr. Curwen, pray attend to us for a single moment. To pass this Bill without a legal tender of any sort, is a violation of Peel's Bill; or, at least, a departure from it; but without the legal tender, it is just as useless in producing an addition to the quantity of currency in the country as your telling the Agricultural Committee and as their publishing in the appendix to their Report laid before Parliament, that you the year before grew two and thirty tons an acre upon four acres of Swedish turnips; just as useless, we say, is this Bill of the Chancellor in producing an increase of currency, as your Swedish turnip story was in producing a conviction of the existence of agricultural distress.

MALT LIQUORS.—Mr. Wodehouse moved for leave to bring in a Bill upon this subject, which was granted.

WINDOW-TAX.—Mr. Hobhouse moved a resolution respecting the injustice and inequality of the tax on houses and windows; and he did justice to the subject. We have not time, now, to notice particulars; but we can say that the system has not had a better running for a long time. It was the very best thing that

the people of Westminster have ever had done for them within our recollection. He was very well seconded by Mr. Maberly and Mr. Hume. The House finally divided, when there were fifty-nine for the motion and a hundred and forty-six against it.—Mr. Hobhouse's speech will be read with great interest, but no greater than it deserves.

SALT TAX.—In consequence of a question from Mr. Curwen, Mr. Vansittart said that it was *his intention* that the whole of the salt-duty should cease in 1824.—In 1824! *His intention!* What does the man mean? Does he think to be Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1824? "*Nous Verrons!*"

IRISH INSURRECTION BILL; that is to say, sunset and sunrise Bill, which was moved for leave to be brought in by Mr. Goulburn; a motion which was carried without a division. This Bill will be discussed hereafter, we suppose; and therefore we need say nothing more of it at present.

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JULY 4, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Some Bills went through certain stages, without any debate whatever.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, the Speaker took the chair at four o'clock, and there being only *twenty-nine* Members present, out of the *six hundred and fifty-eight*, the House adjourned.—A Reformed Parliament would not carry on in this sort of way. More than twenty-nine Members out of six hundred and fifty-eight would meet. If the London press were to do its duty strictly only in speaking of the mere manner of

going on of this House of Parliament; of the mere *demeanour* of it, the people would have something to thank that press for.—This *demeanour* is perfectly matchless. The world has never seen or heard of such a thing before. We wish the whole nation could see the thing with its own eyes, and especially at times when Bills are passing, affecting the lives and liberties of the people. However, the people understand the matter pretty well now, they see this famous body in the light in which they ought to see it; that is to say, as far as they can see it, without actually being personally present to view it with their own eyes.

However, we are not sorry that this blank day affords us the opportunity of saying a little more than we said in our paper of the 2d inst. on the Budget Speech, and on the very pretty observations that came out, as it were, incidentally, on the subject of reducing the interest of the debt. The *Register* of next Saturday will contain a full exposure of the speech of John Smith, and that of Mr. Edward Ellice, who has, by his friends, the rich ruffians of Coventry, been held forth as a second Solomon. The speech of this Mr. Edward Ellice was not noticed as it ought to have been; for, certainly, it stands not low upon the scroll of fame.

It will be recollected that the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the intention of the Bank to discount at four per cent. This we said was a preliminary step to the reduction of the interest of the Debt in some shape or other. John Smith, (one of the Carringtons,) said that he was for a re-

duction of the interest, by means of an *operation to raise the funds*; but not for a forced and *fraudulent* reduction. He was for inducing the fundholders to take something less than the present interest. What did he mean by inducing? The Acts of Parliament say they shall have five per cent. If you give them less, you reduce the interest to be sure; and as to inducing them, suppose a Friendly Society, for instance, to have a thousand pounds sterling deposited in the funds, and you give them forty pounds a year instead of fifty for their thousand pounds; do they not lose ten pounds a year; and is it not atrociously wicked to pretend; is it not fraud beyond compare to pretend, that it is any difference to them whether you raise the funds to a hundred or let them fall down to twenty? Though their stock; we mean their three per cent. stock be not at eighty-one, in place of being at its par value of sixty; do they get any more than the three per cent. for the sixty? Do they get any more than five pounds interest on every 100 pounds sterling of principal. They know nothing of stock-jobbing; they know nothing of selling out and buying in and chopping and changing. They know nothing of the tricks of Jews and jobbers. They put their thousand pounds (like fools as they were), into what is called the funds. If the *hocus pocus* were to raise the things called the three per cents. up to a hundred and twenty, these foolish Friendly Society people would not get any more than their five pounds upon every hundred pounds sterling that they put into the funds; what infernal

ingenuity would it then be, to give these silly people less than five pounds in the hundred for their money, under the pretence that their principal had increased in amount by the rise in the funds! This was not the sort of reduction prayed for by the men of Kent.— They prayed for a *just* reduction; and, of course, a reduction, that by its discrimination, would prevent the infamous robbery of Friendly Societies, and such like persons.

But now let us hear Mr. Edward Ellice, the Coventry gentleman; he said, that, "he had heard much of a petition presented to the House, praying for a reduction of the interest of the National Debt. He was not surprised at such petitions, although he could not agree in the prayer, because if Parliament once broke faith with the public creditor, there would be no end to the violation of contracts. He, however, agreed that the income of the fundholder was increasing, while every other interest was decreasing. In 1814 the public creditor's property, the three per cents. were sold for 53*l.* per cent. and gold was 5*l.* per ounce. At present the three per cents were 81*l.*, and gold 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce. The fundholder's property was doubled, while the farmer's had decreased in the same proportion, or rather been annihilated by the misconduct of Parliament. The House ought to look into that state of things with a view to reduce the National Debt by some fair contribution. When the fundholder's property doubled while the farmer's was entirely destroyed, he was not

"surprised to hear the latter petitioning for reducing the income of the former, and at the same time lessening their own burdens. A relief ought to be granted in the remission of taxation to the extent of the surplus of the revenue beyond the expenditure."

He had *heard* of a petition! If he had been in his place when it was presented, he might have shown, if he could, that the prayer of it was not what it ought to have been, which would have been much better than to say that he could not agree with it, and to charge it with proposing a *breach of faith* with the public creditor, as he has now done. However, let us hear what he says about the matter. Let us hear his arguments against this Kentish Petition. He tells us that the income of the fundholders is increasing, while that of all other classes is decreasing. He puzzles his brains about the price of stocks which has nothing to do with the matter; but he says, truly enough, that the property of the fundholder is *doubled*, while that of the farmer has decreased in the same proportion, or, rather, says he, has been entirely destroyed. He says this very plainly, and yet he cannot agree in the prayer of the Kentish Petition, and charges it with aiming at a breach of faith. This would seem strange enough even if we stopped here; for can it be a breach of faith, to put things to rights, when the farmer is destroyed by paying the fundholder the *double* of what he ought to pay him? "Figure to yourself," said Mr. Cobbett, once in a letter to his son James, written just after the Coventry election; "figure to your-

self," said he, "a great fat-faced boy of forty;" but where is the great fat-faced boy of forty that would call it a *breach of faith*, to reduce the interest of a party, whose interest had been inadvertently doubled by law, while the party paying the interest had, "by the misconduct of Parliament," (for those are his very words), been reduced in the same proportion, or rather, annihilated? Where is, we say, the great fat-faced boy of forty, who would attempt to maintain a proposition like this?

But this is not all; for Mr. Ellice himself is for a reduction of the National Debt! This House, he says, ought to look into this state of things, and with a "view to reduce the National Debt by some fair contribution." Well, and on what ground, then, do you disapprove of the Kentish Petition? Why did you disapprove of its prayer? Come, *discuss*, as Pistol says; discuss; give us the why and the wherefore. What was the prayer of the Kentish Petition? Why; it was for a "just reduction of the interest of the National Debt." The very words were these: "and your petitioners further most humbly pray, that your Honourable House will be pleased to make a just reduction of the interest of the National Debt." And what do you want? Why, "to reduce the National Debt by some fair contribution." So, that all the difference is, you have the word *fair*, instead of the word *just*, which latter is by far the better word of the two; because it is not figurative, admits not of any possible misconstruction, conveys a simple and familiar

idea; and was, in fact, the word of all words, to use upon the occasion, though Mr. Brougham thought proper to cavil at the petition, and to call this part of it "*arude*." Crude, as it was, it has stood all the canvassings and cavillings of those who affected to dislike it; and it places the County of Kent upon an eminence in the eyes of the whole nation. That public-spirited county; that county so complimented by Lord Castle-reagh and others; so coaxed and so wheedled with a view of turning it from its purpose, has set an example to the country, which the country must follow, and that speedily, too, or the total ruin of farmers and landlords is at hand. Every time that county shall hear of schemes for reducing the interest of the Debt, so often will it have reason to congratulate itself on its conduct on the 11th of June. John Smith, the Banker, has his scheme for reducing the interest of the Debt. You have your scheme for reducing the interest of the Debt. But can any of you invent a scheme better than that prayed for by the county of Kent; namely, "a just reduction of the interest of the Debt?"

JULY 5, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Lord Lausdowne gave notice of a question that he meant to ask either tomorrow, or on another day! This is a curious way of doing business in the Parliament. We have had notices of motions for about ten or fifteen years; now we have got to notices of questions. What the Collective Wisdom of the Nation will bring it to by-and-by, if there should be time for it, no man can say. This question,

or rather this intended question is, it seems, to relate to our *commercial relationships with the States of South America*; which his Lordship thinks an important matter. So thought Mr. Cobbett when he wrote his petition to the Prince Regent in 1818; when he prayed that our Government might take part with the South American States, and form close alliances with them; and when he foretold the consequences of neglecting so to do. It is a day after the fair, my Lord Lausdowne. We have lost the opportunity. An innate hatred of liberty in the Ministers; the dread in the Boroughmongers, of encouraging the principles of Reform: these prevented those easy measures which would have knit the South American States to us for ever. We even now seem to be lingering along in the hope that the Bourbon despotism will regain its power in that country. What we get at last we must get by negotiation; and negotiation carried on against rivals, too; and if France and America only frown at us, we must desist. We are fast becoming that very *second rate* power that Bonaparte said we should become. We have bartered a good part of our Navigation Laws, this very Session, in the hope of getting a little ready money, to help pay the expenses of the Debt, contracted in the Holy work of restoring the BOURBONS, the POPE and the INQUISITION.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Mr. Brougham moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the laws affecting the retail trade in beer, which motion was agreed to. We should be anxious to see

what this Bill will contain; and ready to make our acknowledgments, and to proclaim the wondrous fact to the world, if one good law should, at last, be proposed by a lawyer. It would appear that the object of the Bill is to enable people to retail beer as they retail bread; that is to say, to sell it by the pot to be taken away without licence. This would certainly be a measure of justice; and we do not see how the hare and partridge fellows could find fault of it. The silly fools! The great stupid jolter-headed asses! Just as if it was of more importance to them to prevent poaching by putting down public-houses (even if that did it) than to increase the consumption of barley and hops to the diminution of the consumption of tea, sugar and coffee, brought from those foreign countries, which are at the same time, sources of that very patronage, which is now working these hare and partridge fellows to the bone.

SIN CURER IN IRELAND.—There is a Bill before Parliament, called the Irish Grand Jury Bill, the object of which is to lessen the expenses of the administration of justice in that unhappy country. Mr. Skeffington presented, last night, petitions from the Clerks of the Crown, alleging that they possessed *vested rights* that would be affected by the Bill. Sir John Newport's answer will be found in the report of the debate, but we cannot refrain from inserting it again here.

Sir J. Newport observed, that there existed no foundation whatsoever for the claims the persons holding these offices thought proper to set up. In place of compen-

sation, they ought to be extremely well satisfied that they were not subjected to the penalties of the Act on the Statute Book, which did not allow of that office being executed by deputy, whereas all those offices were now so filled. With respect to fees, these gentlemen were not satisfied unless they received *double the amount of the fees actually paid in England.*—(Hear.) He had received numerous intimations on the subject, and amongst other strange objections thrown out against the Bill one was, that if it passed into a law, no Gentleman would continue to discharge the duties of these offices. His answer was, that that was no objection with him, as all that was wanted was to have the duties performed by competent persons.—(Hear, hear.) The House he trusted would set its face against any such claims for fees, when it recollected that *every fee was a tax upon the labour of the poor*—was a positive deduction from the miserable pittance of the Irish peasant.

We fully concur with the *Morning Chronicle* in what it has said this morning respecting the conduct of Sir J. Newport in this case; and also respecting the merits of his Bill. We agree with Sir John particularly in the sentiment, that every fee is a tax upon the labour of the poor; and we are quite satisfied that we shall see the insolent possessors of "*vested rights*" put to the rout in very short time, and think themselves happy if they be not called upon to disgorge what they have swallowed.

CHIEF BARON O'GRADY—What this gentleman has been at we do not recollect. But a Mr. Rice had, it seems, a motion respecting him, which, upon the suggestion of Lord Castlereagh, was last night put off till the next Session of Parliament.

BANKERS OF CALCUTTA.—Mr. Brougham made a motion for referring a petition from these bankers to a Committee to inquire into the nature of their claims on the East India Company. It appears from the petition, that the East India Company borrowed money of these people which it has not repaid. Mr. Wetherell, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Wynn and some others were for the Committee. Several were against it; and, though we were not surprised to find Peter Moore amongst them, we were rather surprised; or, to say the truth, to scorn to tell a lie about the matter, we were not at all surprised, to find Mr. Hume, on the side of the Company and against going into the Committee! Mr. Ricardo, too, thought it would be *inpolitic* to go into the Committee! Let it be recollected, that these are men who have *lent their money to the Company*, and who cannot get payment. We hear a vast deal about National faith at home, with regard to the Debt, commonly called *National*. Mr. Hume appears to have thought it proper enough, for the Nation to pay 1,300,000*l.* to the East India Company the other day, *without any Parliamentary inquiry at all*. But he would not even inquire into the claim of these persons, he would not *interfere* between the Company and those who have lent it money. He really does not seem to think it an *Independent State*, as Mr. Vansittart called it the other night. We regard it in no such light; and are very glad to see, that the Ministers concurred with Mr. Brougham, and that steps are to be taken, likely to lead

to the doing of justice to these parties.

KENTISH PETITION.—Sir Edward Knatchbull presented a petition last night from "*certain undersigned*" freeholders of the county of Kent, referring to the real petition of the county of Kent agreed to at Maidstone on the 11th of June; and, intended, no doubt, as a sort of protest against that petition. But, this subject would require more time than we have at present to bestow on it; and, therefore, we shall postpone it until to-morrow; or, (if the debates of to-night should be of an interesting nature) until Monday, when we shall discuss it, and give it its proper exposure, in a letter addressed to the men of Kent.

JULY 6, 1822.

Postponed from yesterday.—

COMMONS.—In a little sly corner of the report, hardly to be seen, even with our spectacles on, we hunted out, after we had closed our commentary of yesterday, a short paragraph in the proceedings, stating, that the House was in a Committee on the *Small Paper-Money Bill*; and that "the Chancellor of the Exchequer" (on the suggestion of Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Hume) consented to give up the clause, "authorizing the country bankers to pay their notes *either in gold or in Bank of England notes*; and to leave those bankers on the footing of *other debtors*."—This is odd enough; for, as our readers saw, it was only on *Tuesday last*, that Mr. Pascoe Grenfell, upon perceiving *no such clause* in the Bill, said,

that he should *move the insertion of such a clause*, if Mr. Vansittart did not insert it before-hand! What then? Did the latter insert it; and did he thus expunge it upon the suggestion of Messrs. Hume and Ricardo? And, was this done without a word from Pascoe, whose *activity* is proverbial, and who showed it so conspicuously at the time of passing *Six-Acts*? "Oh, infirm of purpose!"—Was such a thing ever seen or heard of before under the name of Government? As to the subject; that is to say, as to the *fact*, that the Country Ragmen are to have *no option*; but are to pay their notes in gold, if the *holder choose*; that is all we want. To authorize the Borough-Bank to *make small notes* after May 1823 is, in fact, a part repeal of Peel's Bill; and a total departure from the spirit of it; because the alleged intention of the Bill was, to return to the *ancient standard* of the kingdom; and because one of the strong grounds of the measure was, the necessity of putting *an end to small notes*, in order to do away the horrible hangings on account of *forgery*. This new measure, be the pretences for adopting it what they may, is intended to *keep in circulation more paper money* than it was, when the Bill of Peel's was passed, *intended to keep in circulation*! It is an attempt to shuffle out of the effects of that Bill. But, we, for our parts, do not mind the *Small Paper Money Project*. What we object to is *legal tender*, and, if this new Bill do not repeal Peel's Bill in that respect, we are satisfied. We do not, however, quite like the phrase of our little Chancellor;

namely, that the country bankers were to be placed on the "*foot-ing of other debtors*;" for, it may be intended to put *all debtors* on the footing that they were before the passing of Peel's Bill, that is to say, to tender payment in Bank of England notes, and thereupon to screen them from *legal process*, except at the *expense of the creditor*! And, after all, we shall be agreeably disappointed, if the new Bill do not contain something of this sort. We *must know*, however, by-and-by; for, there must be *an Act*; and an Act is generally a thing capable of being *understood*.—If no *legal tender* be enacted, this Bill will do nothing as to the end for which it is intended.—It will assist but very little in keeping out the paper money. After next May, the country-rags will disappear; and prices will come down a great deal lower than they are now. The estates will go on, passing from the present owners to the Jews and jobbers; and a complete revolution in property will be effected.—Some think that this is *good*, and we, speaking comparatively, are by no means prepared to say that it is *bad*. We hate *Muckworm*; but would rather have him for a Borough-monger than the *Norman*. The *Norman* is a more *haughty and insolent* master. We should do better with *Muckworm*. Give him *all*, and he will let you be quiet; but the insolent *Norman* will not. He will have your all, and insult you incessantly into the bargain. He will take your earnings; eat up your very potatoes, and hang you like a dog, if he can, if you grumble. *Muckworm* would not, at any rate, insult us with his

beatings about high blood.—Therefore, if we be still to have Boroughmougers, let them be of the *Muckworm* breed by all means.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night the Royal Assent was given to the Roasted Corn Bill. We have not seen the Bill yet; but we have heard that there is to be a *licence* for the selling of roasted corn, and if the present system could continue for some years, we should not be at all surprised to see made into an *Excisable article* this very thing which was intended to prevent the sale of Excisable articles. This has all arisen from the thing not being called, at first, by its real name. It is roasted wheat, rye, beans, or peas; and such it ought to have been called, and not called *Breakfast Powder*, under the pretence of its containing something which was a *secret* as to the public at large. If this plain-dealing had been adopted, there would have been neither prosecutions nor licences. Any man, however, may prepare the eye for himself in the same manner that green coffee is roasted and ground; that is to say, he may do it at present; but if the quackery should, at last, bring the article under the Excise, we shall be prohibited the use of our own corn, as we are from the use of our own barley and tallow. We should not be at all surprised, now that this Bill has received the Royal Assent, to hear the meal called, *Royal Breakfast Powder*; or Breakfast Powder sold, under *His Majesty's Royal Licence*. This would be a pretty complete finish to a scheme which originated for the Radical purpose of inter-

cepting the waters of the revenue.

The New Corn Bill went into Committee, was carried through by a small majority, and is to be read a third time on Monday. On the Ministerial side of the House they took occasion to contend, that taxation could not be the cause of the agricultural distress; because equal distress prevailed on several parts of the Continent; and particularly in *Switzerland*, where taxes are next to nothing. This is an argument which has nothing to do with the matter. The great difference in all the circumstances of the two countries, renders such an argument wholly inapplicable to the case. Lord Dacre said, that he ascribed the distress principally to the change in the currency; but partly to taxation.—Lord Dacre, will you permit us to state the thing to you plainly? The whole of the distress is occasioned by taxation. How can the farmers be otherwise than distressed; how can all classes but tax-eaters be otherwise than distressed, when, with the prices of 1792, it has to pay more than *four times* the taxes of 1792? The currency, Lord Dacre, is only getting towards what it ought always to have been; but it is, nevertheless, true, that the change in the value of the currency has tripled the amount of the taxes by causing the other classes to give the tax-eaters three bushels of wheat instead of one. This then, is the state of the case: that taxes are the cause, and the cause is augmented by the change in the value of the currency.

IN THE COMMONS.—The *Highgate Chapel Bill* was read a second

time by the vote of a majority of 69 against 62. This Bill appears to be a contravention of the will of a founder of a Grammar School. It appears to be a very unjust thing; and we are very glad to see the Attorney-General oppose it. The two famous representatives of the county, Byng and Whitbread, spoke upon the subject; but our powers of comprehension are not sufficient to enable us to say, on which side either of them was. If the people in the neighbourhood of Highgate make stout resistance, we think this Bill will never get through the Lords.

RIGHTS OF NAVIGATION.—Sir James Macintosh asked Lord Castlereagh two questions: one relating to a Russian Ukase claiming certain dominions on the coast of Asia and America; and the other relating to the condemnation of an English ship by the Spaniards, for having traded between a Spanish Island and some South American State, which Spain still claims as a colony, and of which we have not acknowledged the independence! Bravo! Spain is right; and Russia is right, too. Lord Castlereagh said, that this Government had notified to Russia, that it could not accede to the terms of the ukase. And what does the Russian care for that? What does he care for this notification? Will you fire cannon at him if he do not give up his pretensions? He knows he has the debt at his back, and he snaps his fingers at your notification. A fig for state papers without cannon in the rear. As to the seizure and condemnation of the vessel by the Spaniards, it is strictly agreeable to the law of nations, which our ship contra-

vened. We are not to be allowed to set the laws of foreign nations at defiance in this way. What should we say to a Spanish vessel that we found trading between Jamaica and Quebec? Acknowledge the independence of South America, indeed, and then you go to war with the Spaniards, if they attempt to seize your vessels under such circumstances; but, at present, they are perfectly justified in so doing; and, as our pretty gentlemen will not acknowledge new Republics till the last moment, the trade of the country must suffer in the mean time.

IRISH DISTRESS.—Mr. Goulburn said that he had received that day, information highly satisfactory, and had made him quite certain that the subscription, along with the aid of Government, would carry the country through its greatest difficulties! If this be the case, most monstrously exaggerated must these difficulties have been. There is now in circulation a paper, left at every house in the parish of St. Maryle-bonne, which is under a select vestry, which paper is in the following words:—"The Officers appointed under his Majesty's Royal Proclamation, will wait upon you, attended by a beadle of the parish, on Tuesday or Wednesday next, to receive your benevolent donations for the relief of our distressed brethren in Ireland." This paper is said to be issued by order of the Churchwardens, and is dated at the vestry-room, 30th June, 1832. Now, what "officers" are these; and what "proclamation" is this? There has been no proclamation in the Gazette. There has been

no proclamation posted up at Whitehall. We have heard of hole and corner addresses and petitions, and we shall have on Monday to notice one of these, brought by Knatchbull from some hole or corner in Kent; but of a hole and corner proclamation, we never before heard. And what is the beadle to go round for? What is the instrument he is to carry in his hands? And how do these officers know that they are to receive benevolent donations?—This is a very strange affair altogether. It is begging from door to door for the relief of a nation, which is certainly a pretty fine specimen of the “Envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world!” As this is possibly to be a general thing, and may reach Kensington, we will here give the answer which the officers and beadle will to a certainty receive from us:—“Gentlemen, we know of no such officers; we know of no such proclamation; we know that there is plenty of food in Ireland, because corn and wheat in immense quantities are weekly brought from that country to this; we are convinced that the distress, which we deplore full as sincerely as you, arises from want of money, which proceeds from rents and tithes spent out of Ireland, and the heavy taxes imposed upon the labour of its people; and as we receive no portion of those rents, tithes and taxes, we should think it not only unreasonable, but unjust, to give our money to make up, in any degree whatever, for what is taken away by those rents, tithes, and taxes; and that,

“while we always contribute ungrudgingly towards the legal maintenance of the poor in our own country, whatever little we may have to bestow in the way of benevolence, ought in justice to go to those suffering objects in our own country. Peculiar circumstances demand extraordinary exertions of compassion at our hands.” This will be our answer, word for word. Now, to return to the Debate; what said Mr. Dennis Browne, who is an Irish Member? “It was a very extraordinary circumstance, that the people of Ireland were starving at a time when food in that country was as abundant and cheap as it ever had been. This was a state of things so very strange and unexampled, that he could not understand it. The accounts of the distress must either be exaggerated, or there was a mystery in the subject which he could not penetrate. He repeated, that he never knew provisions cheaper or more abundant than in Ireland at present—a monstrous export of provisions from that country was going on, while every day brought accounts of the people dying of famine.” This is just what we have been saying for this month past. Mr. Browne does not understand it. We think we have pretty fully explained it in the above answer that we intend to give to the churchwardens of Kensington. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald expressed his regret and surprise at what had been said by Mr. Browne; and Mr. Browne replied that he did not mean to say that the accounts were exaggerated, but that

he could not help expressing his surprise at the unexplained mystery of a people *perishing for food in the midst of abundance!*—We agree with him that this is a *horrible fact*, but no mystery, where we see the causes of it so plainly before our eyes.—Mr. Goulburn is quite deceived. This misery may be plastered over a little; but it such be the state of the labouring classes; if want of money amongst them (for that is the want) be such as it now is, just after hay-making, and at the beginning of harvest, what is to be their lot at Christmas? If whole parishes be now receiving the extreme unction from the priests; what is to be their lot, when the snows of December come to aid the famine of July? However, the Government has not been carried on by jacobins and radicals, it has been carried on by the makers of Six Acts; and with them be the consequences.

Several other topics remain to be noticed, but we must postpone them until Monday. When, also, the hole and corner petition from Kent will be noticed in a letter to the freeholders of that sensible and public-spirited county.

JULY 8, 1822.

MR. WESTERN'S MOTION.—We had not time to notice on Saturday, that Mr. Western rose, on Friday night, to move his resolutions. Lord Castlereagh was surprised that he should do it at a time, when, for want of notice, the House was not prepared for the discussion of subjects so important. To this Mr. Western answered, that he had given notice for last Wednesday, and that

there was not a house to hear his propositions. He should, he said, therefore, make them now, when there was a house! This was very good. It, at last, ended in fixing the discussion for next Wednesday, when we hope the propositions will be of a nature to bring into full discussion the question of the degree of the fundholder's gain by the change in the value of money.

MONEY-VOTING.—A great many sums were voted; and amongst the rest, 25,000*l.* for that precious thing the Caledonian Canal. Mr. Hume said, that he was for granting 60,000*l.* at once, to finish the thing! Indeed! Well, then, we laugh at the shilling savings in the Ordnance! This thing has been going on for nearly thirty years, and has swallowed up more, we believe, than a million of money! But, Mr. Hume seems not to care about the Camels: it is the Gnats that he cannot abide.

JULY 9, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—There was nothing worthy of particular notice.

IN THE COMMONS.—The *Small-note Bill* was read a third time and passed. There was a petition against this Bill by Mr. Ferguson, of Newman-street, Stereotypist. It appears that this gentleman had submitted a plan to the Bank, which he says would have completely prevented the crime of forgery. He prayed the House to reject any Bill tending to increase the issue of Bank notes, until it was ascertained that the Bank had done every thing that it could to prevent forgery. Mr. Hume differed with the petitioner

as to the propriety of issuing small notes. He thought it would be for the general convenience and advantage of the public, that small notes should be put in circulation. Pray, Mr. Hume, are not sovereigns as convenient as small notes? Will you be so kind as to inform us what convenience we can derive from taking a rag which we have to carry to an inspector before we know whether it be good or bad, instead of a sovereign, the quality of which we know by the jingle? We understand you very well, Mr. Hume; and we decidedly differ with you in opinion, and have great satisfaction in knowing, that this scheme will answer very little purpose, even though it is a part repeal of Peel's Bill. Mr. Hume blamed the Bank for not having another sort of note. He said that the means of preventing forgery were before their eyes. Mr. Hume forgets that the Bank Directors are not blessed with second sight. Mr. Pearce said, that the Bank had done every thing in their power; that they had found that they could get no note more difficult of imitation than their own; that they had spared neither trouble nor expense; and that all the specimens produced were less difficult of imitation than the present note. This we believe; for we have been well assured, that every specimen produced was imitated with the greatest facility by the artists of the Bank. Away then, goes all the scheming; all Mr. Davis Giddy's Royal Commission; all the butterfly merchant's contrivances, and all the schemes imported from America by those famous schenizers Perkins and Co. that brace of celebrated Yankees,

discovered by their countryman, Sir Isaac Coffin, who has such a partiality for smock fracks as a dress for the English farmers. But we can tell the Bank Directors how to put an end to forgery. We said when Perkins and Co. were shipped off at New York, and when we read in the American newspapers that they had touched three thousand pounds in advance, we then said that the scheme would come to nothing, and pledged ourselves to cause their inimitable note (if they made any) to be imitated instantly. But we can tell the Bank Directors how to put an end to forgery. Let Mr. Peel's Bill go into full effect, that is the way to prevent forgery. Pass no Small-note Bill. Fulfill the Speaker's promise to the Regent:—"Return to our ancient and healthful state of currency." Clamsy, undignified, and foppish as the phrase is, *do the thing*; and there will be an end of forgery. The present Bill will necessarily revive forgeries and all those horrors and that disgrace, to get rid of which was one of the principal declared objects of Peel's Bill.

BEER BILL.—Mr. F. Buxton wished to know from his Friend, Mr. Brougham, when he intended to bring forward this Bill. The other having answered, Mr. Buxton declared, that he would oppose the Bill in every shape both in principle and detail. Bless us! This must be a very bad Bill, then; for this is that humane gentleman, who has taken such pains about the morality and comfort of prisons. It does not strike us, indeed, how there can be any thing wrong in suffering people to deal in beer as freely as they deal in

bread. It does not strike us that there would be either immorality or cruelty in suffering beer to be sold at chandlers' shops, or other places. It does not strike us that there would be any immorality or any cruelty, in diminishing the monopoly of public brewers. But, we must confess that we speak with diffidence on such a subject in opposition to Mr. Buxton, who is a professional gentleman; that is to say, a public brewer, and who must, of course, understand such matters a great deal better than we do.

REVENUE-WORK. — A Petition was presented by Mr. Hobhouse from some men in Devonshire, who had been taken before magistrates charged with a breach of the revenue laws; who had been committed to gaol to answer such charges as might be brought against them; who had had no charge brought and no information preferred against them; and who, when expecting to be set at liberty, had been *taken on board a tender to be compelled to serve as sailors!* This is pretty work Lushington, the Secretary of the Treasury, said the officers must have acted under a *misconception* of the Act! What seditious and blasphemous rascals those must be, then, who can pretend to believe that this is not the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world!

IRELAND. — The parish-officers are going round in England to raise money to be sent to Ireland to assuage the *famine* there; and the House of Commons was last night engaged in a Committee upon a Bill, which subjects people in Ireland to be compelled to

houses, from sunset to sunrise; and renders them liable to be transported for disobedience, by Justices of the Peace, and a King's Serjeant at law, without trial by Jury! — The argument in support of this Bill was the old argument; necessity; an argument always at hand in such cases, and very cogent it is. — Sir Robert Wilson moved, as an instruction to the Committee, to take into consideration the means of restoring tranquillity in Ireland without resorting to the present measures. This motion as well as one made by Sir John Newport for shortening the Act, were lost by very great majorities; and thus the Bill will pass, and will be in force until August next! — Sir Robert Wilson drew a strong picture of the *floggings* which he himself witnessed in Ireland; and, with the exception of some fulsome compliments to the Wellesleys, made a very good speech. He dwelt upon the evil of *tithes* in Ireland; and did it very well. Gave another good blow at this thing, which is now receiving blows from every quarter; and if Mr. Mills publish a pamphlet which he has prepared upon the subject, there will be little more wanted, we believe, to prepare the way for a very *quiet settlement* of the affairs of the Protestant Church in Ireland. — Col. Davies concurred in the *indignation* expressed against the Ministers for their want of exertion to remove the causes of misery in Ireland; and, (strange to relate), said that the principal cause of the distress was, "*the frightfully redundant population, which was increasing at such tremendous RATIO!*" — Well, then, if this be the prin-

cipal cause of the evil, why do you, Colonel Davies, express your indignation against the Ministers for their want of exertion to remove the cause of the misery? We can entertain and express indignation against the Ministers as well as you; and, when the business is to pick a hole in their coats, we shall not, we trust, be found to turn our backs upon any critics in the kingdom; but, we would fain give the Devil his due if we could; and famous as we have been rendered, by the cuckoo cry of "*inconsistency*;" we never yet did accuse them of neglecting to remove the cause of an evil, and in the same breath, trace the evil to a cause, which, from its very nature, is not removable! What would Colonel Davies have the Ministers do? How would he have them go to work to put a stop to this frightfully increasing population? There are but two ways in a farm-yard. One is to *kill* a portion of the living animals: the other is to perform certain *operations* upon those which are intended to live. Does he accuse the Ministers of having *neglected the former*? Or, does he, in good earnest, wish them to use the latter? Malthus's plan, that brutal plan, will not do in Ireland, mind; for there there are no *poor-laws*! What, then, would he have the Ministers do? Let him go and ask Malthus, who seems to have turned his head with his *RATIO*. Oh! no!—Colonel Davies: it is not the frightfully increasing population of Ireland; for that has not increased at all, let return-makers say or swear what they please; but it is the frightfully increasing population of *Colone's*, and of other tax-eat-

ers; it is not the increase of those who labour; but the increase of those do not labour. We dare say that the wish of Colonel Davies to oppose the Ministers, was perfectly sincere; but his argument, or, rather, his assertion, was the best possible thing that could be said in their defence. Mr. Plunkett, adverting to what Sir Robert Wilson had said about the tithes, observed: that the position that tithes were held by a tenure different from that of the lands, and *might be resumed by the Government*, might be turned *first against the land proprietor*, and then *against the fundholder*, and would *unsettle all the rights of property*. No, no, Mr. Plunkett. No, no. You do not understand the thing; for, the Parliament; that same Parliament that passed Six-Acts for which you were an advocate, that same Parliament which quashed the *qui tam* informations against the English clergy, though laid agreeably to the very Act which settled the tithes upon the Church; that Parliament that has passed an Insurrection Act for Ireland; that Parliament which can rightfully shut your countrymen up in their houses from sunset to sunrise, and transport them without trial by jury; that Parliament which made the Protestant Church; that Parliament which ordered the churches, the glebes, the tithes, and all the other immense possessions to be enjoyed by that same church; that Parliament can surely resume those possessions, sell them, and cause the amount to be applied *towards a reduction of the Debt*! So, that, you see, Mr. Plunkett, there are two views of this matter. You have got one, and we have got

another. And we really do think that our view of the matter will, in the end, be found to be something about the mark. If, however, the project of Mr. Hume, that is, to say, for suffering the present incumbents to possess for their *lives*; if this project were to be adopted, it would have a great fault; and that is, that it would be *insincere*. Sir Robert Wilson (as, indeed, Sir John Newport did before) spoke plain sense upon the subject. *He said that it was necessary and just that the tithes should be abolished, and that a new distribution of the Church property should take place.* His words were these: "the abolition of tithes" and a new regulation of the revenues of the Church were *indispensable*." That's very true. But we beg leave to suggest to Sir Robert Wilson that tithes are are only another sort of rents; and that it is impossible to show, that the one is more oppressive to the common people than the other. The parson is only a *sharer* with the landlord. The footing to put the thing upon is this: that the things called the *Church property*, are, in fact, *public property*; and public property which it would be wise and just to apply to purposes other than those to which it is now applied; as for instance, to the reduction of the Debt and the diminution of taxes. This is the footing upon which the matter must stand, or every proposition for the abolition of tithes must be rotten and incapable of being sustained.

FAMINE IN IRELAND.—Some one said that there ought to be a large grant at once by the Parliament for the relief of this famine. The Ministers contended that it was better to make the grants from

time to time. Mr. Wortley objected to the mode of exacting taxes from door to door. Mr. Bennet took occasion to object to the begging from door to door, and said that the Irish had a claim of *right*, as much as Yorkshire or any other county would have in a similar case. We wholly disagree with Mr. Bennet: We are convinced they have no claim of right; but are quite willing that grants of the public money should be made, on account of the overruling necessity. But still, we say, as we have said once before, that, if we were Ministers, (which *God forbid!* exclaim all the factions,) we would employ, if nothing else would do, even the troops in Ireland, to fetch food from the parts where it is plenty, to the parts where the people are starving. We would keep the peace if we could; but, at any rate, the people should not starve. They should not receive the extreme unction by whole parishes, while whole ship loads of food were daily coming away from that country to this.—As to the collections from door to door, we agree with Mr. Stuart Wortley; or, rather, that gentleman agrees with us, his opinion of the matter being precisely that which was stated in this paper some days back. The Collectors at Kensington have not yet called upon Mr. Cobbett. The answer which he intended to give them speaks our sentiments on the subject, and we, therefore, here insert it, as an answer to Mr. Bennet as well as to the churchwardens of Kensington.

"GENTLEMEN—I am not disposed to question the authority by which you make this application: but, I know, that there is plenty

of human food in Ireland ; because corn and meat, in great quantities, are daily brought from that country to this. I am convinced, that the famine in unhappy Ireland, which I deplore as sincerely as you, arises from want of money amongst the labouring classes, and that that want is occasioned by rents and tithes, spent, in great part, out of the country, and by the heavy taxes raised on its people. I receive none of those rents, tithes, and taxes ; and, I should think it unreasonable as well as unjust to give my money, to make up, in any degree, for what is taken away by those rents, tithes, and taxes. I pay ungrudgingly towards the legal maintenance of the poor here ; and if I have any thing to bestow in the way of charity, it ought, in justice, to go to these suffering objects in my own neighbourhood, whose peculiar distresses excite an extraordinary degree of compassion, and from whose labours, in their better days, I may possibly have derived some benefit. If there had been poor-laws in Ireland, this famine could not have taken place ; because, then, the overseers would have taken a part of that food which is now daily brought from that country to this. For the want of those just and humane laws, which are founded in the first principles of civil society, this horrible famine has arisen. But, if the owners of land and of tithes do not adopt such laws in Ireland, it appears to me to be unreasonable in the extreme to come to the people of England for money for the relief of the Irish poor ; which is, under the present circumstances, neither more nor less, than money to be sent to Ireland, to be given to the owners of land and tithes, in order that they may, in exchange for our money, give their own starving labourers food.

“ WM. COBBETT.”

“ Kensington, July 8, 1822.”

JULY 10, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Nothing occurred worthy of notice.

IN THE COMMONS.—*Privilege!* Breach of Privilege set aside Mr. Western's interesting motion, and occupied almost the whole time of the evening.—Our readers, upon barely looking at the nature of the subject, will, doubtless, feel themselves impressed, we will not say with awe ; but, certainly with a species of seriousness ; with a solemnity of mind ; and will assume a gravity of countenance, suitable to the occasion. Supposing them to be thus prepared for the brief account which we shall make an humble attempt to give of this *important* matter, supposing their minds to be duly impressed with all those feelings of reverence and veneration, which we find to fill our own mind in the present moment, we proceed to observe ; that the public will please to bear in mind that, about ten days ago, Mr. Abercrombie brought forward a motion relative to the Law Officers in Scotland, in the case of one Borthwick, who had been a printer or editor for the Pittites, or INNS ; and who, finally, got at papers written by the INNS and showed them to the OUTS. This Borthwick's treatment by the Law Officers received a description from Mr. Abercrombie, which displeased, it appears, two of those Law Officers ; Mr. John Hope, and Mr. William Menzies. These two gentlemen have resented this description of their conduct. Mr. Hope has published a pamphlet, which we have not seen ; but which was described and quoted from in the House, in one part of which pamphlet he accuses Mr. Abercrom-

bie of perverting the privileges of Parliament, in order to aid the private action of a political associate; and he says to Mr. Abercrombie, "it is possible that the wilful misrepresentations of others may have induced you to think yourself safe; in the grounds of that attack." We have not time to quote further; but, upon reading the whole of the quotation, we have no hesitation to declare, that the writer of the pamphlet does not mean *personal safety*; and yet such is the interpretation which would appear to have been given to it; and in this light it seems to have been regarded by Mr. Abercrombie.—

After a good deal of discussion upon the subject, Lord Binning declared, in the name of Mr. Hope, that every word of the letter or pamphlet was written by that gentleman. This was perfectly manly and honourable on the part of Mr. Hope. The House then came to a decision that Mr. Hope should be called to the Bar; and he is to attend accordingly, this day s'en-night. The House first declared the pamphlet to be a breach of the privileges of the House.—So much for the history of the proceedings as far as regards Mr Hope. Now comes Mr. Menzies, who had written a letter to Mr. Abercrombie, and had received an answer from that gentleman; and had then caused these letters to be published in the *Courier* newspaper, prefaced by an observation that the writer sent these letters for publication in consequence of the report of the speech of Mr. Abercrombie having been published in the *Courier*. After inserting the letters, Mr. Menzies says, "I shall be content with

saying, that, in what you put forth as a fair report of Mr. Abercrombie's speech, improper motives were by very strong innuendo and implication attributed to me. Such imputations I regard with the most perfect scorn, and I have now shown, that, whoever was the real author of them, they were altogether unwarranted, groundless and false."—Our readers will see the whole correspondence in another part of our paper.—The House voted that Mr. Menzies, also, should be called to the Bar.—It voted that Mr. Abercrombie should be ordered to attend in his place, with a view to prevent a personal rencontre, or, in plain English, a *duel*, between him and Mr. Hope. A Messenger was dispatched with the order, who returned and reported that Mr. Abercrombie was gone out of town, that he was not expected back for ten days, and that his servant believed he had taken the *Barnet road*.—This affair will, of course, be subject of future discussion; and we, of course, shall have to notice that discussion; but in the mean while, we cannot refrain from observing on certain observations of the *Morning Chronicle* of this morning. That paper is become all at once, a surprising stickler for *parliamentary privilege*, while it talks about Tories, calls Mr. W. Courtenay, who made the motion, a *Tory Member*; and endeavours to keep up the humbug, which cheated the nation for so many years, by using the appellations of Whig and Tory, between whom, as an old historian emphatically observes, the nation suffered as our Redeemer

suffered, *between two thieves*.—The *Chronicle* inserts certain words, which it imputes to Mr. Brougham, as follows, “if an individual were to be singled out by a party, with whom, in the fair discharge of his duty, he came in contact, he did not see how gentlemen could be found fearlessly to discharge their public duty, more especially the most invidious parts of it.”

—Upon this the *Chronicle* observes, “the bullying system must neither be tolerated towards that House, nor towards others;” and it afterwards observes, “we hope and trust to see put down a system, which strikes at the root of all decency and order.” Then there comes something in the canting, coaxing, Edinburgh Review like style, thus: “indeed the people of Scotland have sufficient candour to acquit the more respectable of the Tories, of this country (England) of all wish to countenance this system of violence.”

Now, in the first place, we have read the whole of Mr. Menzies’ publication; and we have read the extracts of that imputed to Mr. Hope. The point of *fact* is unsettled; but if those gentlemen be correct as to the facts, we give it as our decided opinion, that they have been guilty of no breach of privilege, whatever; or, if *they have*, then no man’s character is safe, who is not in Parliament to defend himself, or who has not a friend there with spirit enough to defend him, or, at least, who does not find in the justice of some Member, a defence against the aspersions that may be cast upon him. Sir Francis Burdett is bound to attend, to vote and to

do the utmost in his power to defend these gentlemen against this charge; for he has always contended, and, in our opinions, rightly contended, that nothing was a breach of the privileges of the House that did not necessarily tend to *interrupt its proceedings*. But, to stop far short of this, what is the situation of the people, if any individual of them may be assailed, in his private, as well as in his public character, by speeches made in Parliament, and then by publications made through all the newspapers in the kingdom; and liable to be punished by imprisonment, if he made use of the press to say that the imputations against him were *false*? What would have been Mr. Cobbett’s situation, for instance, if he had been to be punished, for saying, as he did, of the imputations of Mr. Wodehouse? There were, indeed, Gentlemen in the House, whose honourable feeling led them to say something in defence of the attacked party; but when a man had imputed to him the base motive of desiring to excite *disaffection*, when he knew that his only desire was to assist in saving the farmers from ruin, was he to remain silent; was he to suffer this imputation to be circulated throughout the kingdom; and if he defended himself by the comparatively small part of the press at his command, was he to be voted a criminal, and that, too, by his assailant as well as by others; and was he upon that vote, to be laid by the heels!—The same observations apply to the gross personal attack made by Sir Edward Knatchbull. If Members of Parliament were privileged to this extent, the House

would form the most odious body of tyranny that ever was heard of upon the face of the earth ; such privilege would be a monster, indeed ; a privilege to which the KING himself has not the smallest pretensions. It would consist, and must be regarded as a body of licensed libellers, and as nothing else. Mr. Huskisson stated the case very fairly and very neatly, he drew the distinction, which is always to be taken into view between a direct personal attack upon the Member, and an attack upon the *published report*. He said, that reflecting upon a report in a newspaper, was not reflecting upon an individual ; and he very fairly concluded, that a proceeding like the present tended to *make the House answerable for the published reports*.—This was the true ground ; for, and we should observe this well, that if the House deem it a breach of privilege to observe upon a report in a newspaper, it is itself the original offender in suffering such report to be published. The House seems to have voted, that Mr. Menzies' publication, "which takes notice of a speech of a Member of this House, is a breach of its privileges." Why then we are engaged in a breach of its privileges now ; we, probably, have not the precise words of this motion ; for is it a breach of privilege for us to have taken the above notice of the speech of Mr. Huskisson, who asked this question, "Was not an individual at liberty to write to the Editor of a newspaper, stating that what he had put forth as a speech of a Member of Parliament, contained *watter injurious or untrue*?"—Nobody at-

tempted to answer this question, though Mr. Brougham was present, and the *Morning Chronicle* has not attempted to answer it now ; and it cannot be answered, otherwise than by acknowledging that the individual has a right, unless we be willing to declare as legitimate, the most odious and insolent tyranny that ever existed. —Lord Castlereagh seems to have been anxious about nothing but preventing the duel ; and, indeed, the conduct of the Ministers and their people was fair and honourable all through ; to which we must add, that almost every attempt of this sort to cramp the rights of the people, has originated with the other party. We have not time for further comment now ; but we cannot omit to observe, that we can see no means of justification that Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies had, other than those which they have made use of ; and that we do not discover in their words, any thing that strikes at that root of all *decency and order*, to preserve which the *Morning Chronicle* is so anxious. We expect better proof of the truth of the matter, than what can be gathered from a stupid duel, which is a mode of decision fit to be adopted by savages, or by swaggering coxcombs infinitely more despicable than savages. We pretend not to determine whether Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies were falsely or truly accused by Mr. Abercrombie. If they were truly accused, he, in our opinion, ought to have taken no other notice of their publications than by re-statement of the truths, if he thought that necessary ; and if the charges were false, and so appeared to him,

upon remonstrance and inquiry, he ought, in our opinion, to have made the accused parties reparation by an open avowal of the error into which he had been led, which he might have done without the danger of the slightest imputation of meanness, because both the gentlemen ascribed his statement, and distinctly ascribed it, to his want of true information as to the facts. This, we think would have been the dignified course; much more honourable to Mr. Abercrombie than any firing of pistols, and much better calculated than the present proceeding, to support the dignity of the House, and to prevent its privileges from becoming a subject of mockery.

JULY 11, 1822.

PRIVILEGE.—Since making the remarks, contained in our paper of yesterday, it has occurred to us that there are some further remarks necessary, particularly with regard to what the *Morning Chronicle* reports to have been said by Mr. Brougham. First, however, let us observe, that it appears to us, that the House came to a decision particularly fitting and just, in ordering Mr. Abercrombie to be in his place in the House; and this for two reasons; first, in order to prevent a duel between the parties, which could be attended with no possible good in such a case, and which must reflect pain, if not disgrace, somewhere; and second, because, as Lord Binning observed, the House ought not to come to a decision against *absent parties*; not the parties, however, who had committed the alleged breach of privilege; but against Mr. Abercrombie, in fact.

That gentleman; if he had been present, would, as was observed, have been the last person in the world to call upon the House to pursue the course which the mover of the business had adopted. This was said by Mr. W. Courtenay, who made the motion for bringing Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies before the House.—Now, it seems surprising, that it did not occur to Mr. Courtenay, that that which he thought could not have been done with the *consent* of Mr. Abercrombie, had the latter been present, *ought not to have been done in his absence*. The same motive that would have restrained Mr. Abercrombie might, one would think, have *restrained all other parties*; for, in effect, the doing of the thing by others, is precisely the same as if done by Mr. Abercrombie himself. It is well known that he could not, strictly speaking, restrain those others; nevertheless, it does appear to us, that no such motion should have been made in the absence of Mr. Abercrombie.—But it is the doctrine of Mr. Brougham to which we wish more particularly to direct the attention of the reader. This gentleman is reported to have said, that, “whatever step should be taken, he hoped would be *unanimously* adopted; the House was bound to do so if it were only to express its determination to *put down a system* which had been acted on in some cases, and which *threatened to tear up by the roots every vestige of Parliamentary privilege*. — (Hear, hear!)—There was no shadow of comparison between an attack, however gross and indecent, upon that House in its

“corporate capacity, and an attack upon an *individual member*, singled out by a party for the performance of his public duty, that party countenanced and supported by another party, whom he (the Member) felt it his duty, as it were, to put upon trial. Members of that House would be found ready to do their duty in spite of the *general attacks* which were, and which might be made, upon the House in its *collective capacity*; but if an individual were to be *singled out* by a party, with whom, in the fair discharge of his duty, he came in contact, he did not see how gentlemen could be found fearlessly to discharge their public duty, more especially the most *invidious* part of it.” It is to this very extended and general view of the subject, that we wish to obtain the particular attention of the public. We see no objection to the House expressing its unanimous opinion; but we do see a good deal of objection to some other parts of this gentleman’s speech. What, for instance, can the learned gentleman mean by saying, that the House was bound to *put down a system* which threatened to *tear up by the roots* every vestige of *Parliamentary privilege*? We have never heard of any such *system*. Have you, gentle reader? God forbid that we should encourage; that we should countenance; that we should approve of; that we should not reprobate any attempt to *tear up Parliamentary privilege by the roots*! But, we do approve of making remarks, and free remarks, too, upon the proceedings

in Parliament, *as we find them published in the reports*; the reasons for which approbation, and for deprecating all attempts to shackle men in making such remarks, we shall another time, endeavour to state; and we hope, with all humility, that these reasons may not prove unsatisfactory even to Mr. Brougham, to whom we intend to address them, though we hope to be understood as speaking with all singleness of heart, when we say, that we do not presume to set our *judgment* up as any thing equal to that of the Learned and Honourable Member for Winchelsea, in the county of Kent. The Learned Gentleman next proceeded to observe, that there was no comparison between any attack, however *gross and indecent*, upon that House in its *corporate capacity*, and an attack upon an *individual* Member. He afterwards said, that Members of that House would be found ready to do their duty, in spite of the *general attacks* which were, and which might be made, upon the House in its *collective capacity*, but, that he did not see how they were to be found to discharge their duty, if they were to be *singled out* in this way. With all due submission to Mr. Brougham, we think there is a law in existence, which might banish a man for life for publishing any thing, having a *TENDENCY* to bring the House in its *corporate or collective capacity*, into *CONTEMPT*. So that, if we be not mistaken as to the existence of such a law, and if this doctrine of Mr. Brougham were to be adopted, no one could remark at all upon any proceeding in Parliament, *unless he con-*

fined himself exclusively to themes of praise; we say positive praise; nothing short of that; for to mention the speech of Mr. Brougham, for instance, and not to praise it, might be deemed an *attack*. We must remark then, neither upon the House in its collective capacity ("collective wisdom") nor on the speeches of individual Members: so that, here seems to be an end of all discussion whatsoever, out of doors, with regard to what is reported to have passed in the House. Mr. Brougham afterwards said, that he thought, that, "where a *Letter*" (Ah!) "reflecting upon a Member of that House, was published with the *name and address of any individual attached to it*;" (Ah!) "he thought *such a case*" (Ah!) "afforded strong presumption in the exercise of their *'inquisitorial control*," (Ah!) "and that they were intitled to *call on such person*" (Ah!) "to *answer for his conduct*" (Ah!) "or, at least, to *explain it*."—O! come! 'tis not so bad as we expected. We really were almost frightened out of our senses. — Coming a little to ourselves, we are able to look at the thing with a more steady view; and in it we perceive *only* a complete prohibition of all remark whatever on the reports of speeches made in Parliament; and particularly on the "*most invidious*" speeches. If Mr. Brougham's doctrine do not go this length, we have not the capacity to understand it; and all that we shall at present say upon the subject, is, that we *bless God, that there appears to be no prospect of the present Ministers being put out of*

their places; for we do most sincerely believe, that their reign is, in comparison with that which would succeed it under the "*Whigs*," what the reign of Solomon was to the reign of Rehoboam; so that we gather comfort, and great comfort, from this debate; and if Mr. Brougham will accept of our congratulations on the effect that it will have on his party, they are very much at his service. But now, turning to the *Morning Chronicle*; for though we must not bestow censure ourselves; though we must do nothing but praise; nothing but sing hallelujahs, still, even Mr. Brougham's doctrine will not, we think, go so far as to prevent us from censuring the praise bestowed by others, and particularly that it will not prevent us from expressing (if we were able to express) our disgust at a passage, taken by the *Chronicle* from a *sneaking*, villanous paper called the "*Scotsman*;" in which passage the writer has the ineffable meanness to *flatter* Lord Liverpool and Mr. Vansittart, and to extol, indirectly, their *moral and intellectual* qualities? In the whole course of our political observation, long and attentive as it has been, never did we witness any thing so completely base as this: flattery bestowed upon the Ministers in England; those very Ministers, that this paper has, for years, been dragging to the dirt: and this flattery, in order to *wheel* and *cajole* those Ministers, beforehand, to desert the Lord Advocate and Mr. Hope!—As to the merits of the case itself, we frankly and unequivocally declare, that we see nothing worthy of blame in the conduct of Mr. Hope and Mr.

Menzies. We have read the offensive articles again, and we can see nothing done by either, that was not necessary to a *vindication of character*. We are led to look back at the *origin* of the whole thing. And we find accusations of Mr. Abercrombie against Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies, on account of alleged ill treatment of Borthwick. This Borthwick we find to have been the editor employed by the INS in the publication of a paper, containing violent attacks upon the OUTS. We find him, ceasing to be such editor; and then we find him *divulging manuscripts to the OUTS*. This is the man with regard to whose treatment we find Mr. Abercrombie making a speech containing strong imputations against Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies.—We find those gentlemen commenting, through the means of the press, on those imputations; declaring them *to be false*; but, at the same time, under the supposition, that he had made them in consequence of misinformation.—Now, so far are we from perceiving any thing *wrong* in this, any breach of the privilege of Parliament, we look upon the conduct of those gentlemen as exhibiting proofs of *singular forbearance*. In the case of Mr. Menzies, there was a letter from Mr. Abercrombie, in answer to the application of the former *for an explanation*; and Mr. Abercrombie refuses to enter into any explanation; yet, even after this, Mr. Menzies *does not accuse Mr. Abercrombie of falsehood*; and contents himself with saying, which was the very least that his character demanded, that *false imputations* had been published respecting him, in a report put

forth by the *Courier*, as *being a fair report* of Mr. Abercrombie's speech! Good God! If a man cannot say this much, in such a case, wretched indeed are we and degraded far below the people of any civilized country in the world. If this be crime, it is a crime in a man to defend his own character when imputations are cast on it in the House of Commons. Neither of the gentlemen impute *bad motive* to Mr. Abercrombie. The utmost extent that they go is to assert that he had proceeded upon *false information*. The *Morning Chronicle* has, with peculiar malignity, put in *italics* the words "induced you *to think yourself safe*," in the quotation from the letter of Mr. Hope. The context clearly proves, that Mr. Hope meant, that Mr. Abercrombie thought himself on *safe grounds*; on *sure grounds*; that is to say, thought he was safe *as to the truth* of what he was stating. It was singularly malignant to put those words in *italics* in order to direct the eye to them, and to give rise to the idea in the mind of the public, that an imputation of *cowardice* was conveyed. In short, any thing more unjust and foul, I have very seldom witnessed even in the *Old Times* newspaper. It seems rather unfortunate, that this violent strife should have arisen out of an effort to obtain, what was alleged to be *justice*, in consequence of the harsh treatment of a man who had made an exposure of *private papers*. This is the *third* private-paper affair which has come forth, and always under the auspices of "*the Whigs*," during the present Session of Parliament. We thought, that it would have been much

better to say nothing about the letter of Mr. Arbuthnot. The letter of Mr. Saurin was a still worse affair; and though we must allow for difference of *tastes*, we hope it is no breach of privilege for us to say, that we would not have selected the case of Borthwick, the fatal consequences of whose disclosure being fresh in our minds. The days are not to be many before Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies will appear before the House; and we shall be very much deceived, if the result be not their honourable acquittal; or, at least, if it should be thought to be going too far to say *positively* that they were *justified* in their publications, we shall be very much deceived, if the decision be not as nearly to that as possible; which we are very sure will meet with a decided approbation of the public. Never was there less skill shown, than the OUTS have shown upon this occasion, and especially as far as their "*case*" was conducted by Mr. Brougham. He has great talents; a great command of words; but, a great lack of what we call *judgment*.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night the *New Corn Bill* was read a third time and passed, after being opposed by several Lords, but, as far as we are able to perceive, by nothing *new*.—During the debate, Lord Harrowby contended, that the *low price of produce*, though it had produced *Agricultural Distress*, which he *lamented*, had produced good to *manufacturing labourers*, and thus "our manufacturing interests had been enabled to recover themselves, the distress of which had disturbed the peace of the country,

"and even endangered the *stability of our institutions*." Indeed! Then it was not the "*demagogues*?" It was not the "*sedition and blasphemy*," after all? It was, according to his Lordship, the grumblings of *maw* that he heard, and not the cry of disaffection. Now, in those very reports, which were made to the two Houses, in 1817, it was positively stated, that the *most turbulent*, were those who were *not in distress*! And, then, against this *plenty* (if there were such a thing) among the manufacturers, does his Lordship set *nothing* on account of the *famine in Ireland*, produced (as the *immediate cause*) by the change in the value of money? When he is talking of the *good* produced by Peel's Bill, does he reckon nothing for this evil? But, after all, what a sorry state we are in, when there must be *ruin and starvation* amongst *some classes* to produce even enough to eat amongst *other classes*? And does Lord Harrowby think, that things can go on thus? His Lordship talks about the *institutions* of the country, being *endangered by high price of provisions*. Is the *Church* an *institution*? Yes, and a thumping one too. And, is *that* in *less danger now* than it was in 1817 or 1819? He, perhaps, will call the *Debt*, commonly called national, an *institution of the country*. And, is *that* in *less danger* than it was in 1817 and 1819? Oh! it only requires a *little time* to show how all this will work.

There were most important matters in the *House of Commons*; but, we have not left ourselves room for them. We must beg to put off these until to-morrow.

JULY 12, 1822.

NOTHING in the LORDS last night worth notice, and, in *no other place*, there was *no House*. This enables us to pay off the score left unsettled yesterday.

IN THE COMMONS on Wednesday night, *pensions to the servant of the late lamented and ill-treated Queen*. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the sum of £2,285*l.* should be granted to pay these pensions, none except Sicard's being more than 200*l.* a year. The thing was agreed to without any dispute, and nothing was said worthy of our notice, except that Mr. Vansittart thought it more dignified to call Sicard a *Maitre d'Hotel* than to call him in plain English, a *House Steward*. This would be excusable enough in a fop, just piping hot from Paris, part of the proceeds of his half-pay or pension still sticking in his teeth in the rags of a stinking ragoo; but not very excusable in an English Minister, who, if it were for the salvation of his very soul, could not pronounce the words in a way that a Frenchman would not laugh at.—We are glad that this trifle (and we think it *enough*) has been granted to the poor Queen's servants, and we always thought that it would be done.—One of the parties (soon after the Queen's death) applied to us for *advice*, saying at the same time, it was the intention to put the case into the hands of Seer Robheart Vilson, and Meestear Moore. We advised, by all means, to pursue this plan, if the object of the parties was, to cause a wrangle in Parliament, and to get *no money*; but, if the object was to get some money, by no means

to think about Seer Robheart or Meestear Moore! Our advice seems to have been followed.—The *last Queen*, besides so many other things to endear her memory to us, has left us *no charge*, in comparison with that left by other Queens. The Queen that went before her has left us about twenty times (we believe) the sum to pay, and we think, for we have not the account before us, that the servants of the King's great grandmother, Queen Caroline, still, to this day, cost us more than those of the late heroic Queen Caroline, who really delivered this nation from a state of such terror that made men afraid to *speak* upon any matter connected with government or politics; for which we owe her everlasting gratitude. She did more than ever was done before to *pull down* the real enemies of our freedom and happiness. She gave a *tone* to the public voice, and a *turn* to the public mind, which they will never lose.

THE MILLSTONE.—THE COOLER. THE QUIETER.—THE PEACE-PRESERVATION THING.—These are all *one* though they are *four*. It is the DEBT; and now we shall see. In the "*Reduction no Robbery*," addressed to the Men of Kent, it is shown how the Debt works to make this nation submit to *wrongs and insults from foreign nations*. In our remarks on the poor puling talk about the foreign *slave trade*, the matter was again explained. We there said, that it was the *Debt* which had pulled up Lord Castlereagh's eye-lids, and made him see so clearly, that France and America were *two* great nations. We there said, in several other places, that *no State*,

however feeble, would be afraid to wrong or insult us; and that we should, agreeably to the *Abbe Raynal's* prediction go on sinking; until we exhibited to the world the proof of the truth of his doctrine, namely, that "*prosperity*," obtained by commerce and paper-money, naturally produced national decline. With preface (rather too long, perhaps) we proceed to state, that Mr. Stuart Wortley asked Lord Castlereagh (the *Settler of the World*) whether it were true, that Portugal had added a duty of 15 per cent. on English woollens; and what was to be done in the matter. The *Settler of the World* answered, that it was true, and as to all English goods; and that it was a contravention of the treaty with this country! Well: we shall hear the cannons roar, we suppose? We shall soon see whether our treaties are to be thus contravened with impunity, we guess? Oh, no! The *Settler* only adds, that several remonstrances have been made on the subject. What! remonstrances! And several of them too! And no cannon yet! But, be cool, be quiet, be "*peace-preservation*:" O, God! how just art thou! The *Settler* said, that there was negotiation going on; and that no effort, on the part of Government, would be wanting to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. And that all! No resolution expressed to enforce the fulfilment of the contravened treaty! No appeal to, no talk of, Achilles at Hyde Park Corner! Oh! the empty, the beastly piece of bombastical bragging! We may put up statues of Achilles; the Portuguese will stick to their duties; and all the world will laugh at us. "Long live the

Boroughs," said an American Minister; "for they will make us the *Masters of the Sea*!" Which they certainly will, if they exist but for about four years longer, and the Debt (in its present amount) along with them.

POOR LAWS.—What, again? More projects to alter these laws? A Mr. Nolan, whom we never heard of before, and who seems, from what the *Settler* said, to be another *Lawyer*, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to "*amend the laws respecting the poor*."—Always to amend; but these amendments have always in view to curtail the amount of relief! We thought we should, with the horrible example of Ireland before us, hear no more about alterations in these our very best laws. Indeed, Mr. Nolan said, that the present state of Ireland was "*a proof that our system of poor-laws was not detrimental to this country*." Why not let them alone, then? Mr. Nolan does not, however, propose any thing about marriage. Brother Scarlett having had enough of that. He proposes, as far as we can gather, to push much farther the *Select Vestry*, or Hampshire Parson, plan. That is to say, to throw more and more power into the hands of the great payers of rates and great owners of land; the very last persons in the world who ought to receive an addition of power in such a case. Lord Castlereagh allowed the Bill to be brought in and to lie over till next Session, and deprecated all present discussion. Mr. Nolan did, however, let out, that his object was to "*relieve the country*, in some measure, from the great weight that at present existed, and

" which, if allowed to go on, must ultimately destroy the *liberty* " and *happiness* of the country." Relieve the country? What, then, are the labourers no part of " the country?" How *strange* it is, that men can see more danger to our *liberties* and *happiness* in distributing *six* millions a-year amongst the millions of those who produce the whole, than in distributing *seventy* millions a-year amongst soldiers, sailors, their widows and children, and amongst placemen, pensioners sinecure-people, tax-gatherers and fundholders! What a strange composition must be the mind of such a man! Why, the *tax-gatherers alone* swallow nearly as much as the poor. *Waterloo*, or army and navy half-pay and pensions, swallows nearly as much as the poor. *The parsons* and their families twice as much. And, if these do not endanger the "*liberty* and *happiness*" of the country, why are they to be endangered by the taxes raised for the poor? The Settler of the World "*congratulated* his honourable and learned friend" (dulcet sound!) on his Bill, and " had "*great satisfaction* in finding, that " the object of it was, to bring "*back the system to what it was " originally intended to be.*" What, then, did Queen Elizabeth's Act intend, that there should be *Select Vestries*? No, no; this will not hold water a moment. And, as to *bringing the system back*, the noble Settler ought to know, that *other things* must come back first! For, as long as *Jerusalem* and *Waterloo*, and the *Horse-Guards* and *Whitehall* pull forward, at the rate that they now pull, the poor-rates cannot go *far back*, say Mr. Nolan what he will about the dan-

ger to the "*liberty* and *happiness* of the country;" and both these worthy personages may hereby receive from under our hands the positive assurance, that the labouring classes in England will never have the *extreme unction* administered to them! *Whole parishes*, in Ireland, we are told by Sir John Newport and Mr. Fitzgerald, have been reduced to the verge of the grave by *famine*; that the priests have *prepared them for death*, as if in the last moments of *bed-death*; that is to say, the priests have received the *confessions* of the sins of all the people of the parish, have given absolution, and given them (which is the last ceremony) the *extreme unction*, that is to say, have *anointed their bodies*; and all this, too, while Ireland teems with *abundance of food*; while *corn* and *meat* in vast quantities are daily coming from that country to this; and while we positively state, that the return from *Waterford alone* states, that *twelve thousand fitches of bacon were shipped last week only from that one port!*—Under our hands we give Lord Castle-reagh and Mr. Nolan the most positive assurance, that the labouring classes in England will never take the *extreme unction*, let what will happen, much less under circumstances like those stated above.—No, no! The *extreme unction* wants to be administered to things very different from the labouring classes; to places, pensions, establishments, and the Debt, *vulgarly* called national. These call aloud for the *extreme unction* though, really, it may be wanted for the *landlords* and *farmers* of England. And this would show, in a very striking point of view, the *Catholic* nature

of the thing, *Catholic* meaning *universal*; and, if applicable to the Irish who are dying from *want*, and to the English who are dying from *over-much*, it must fully merit its high-sounding epithet. But, as to the English *labourers and artisans*, what restive subjects they would be under the hands of the priest! Only think of a coal-heaver or carter or ploughman, desired to lie down to receive the extreme unction! Only think of the coppice-cutters and hoop-shavers of the village of Botley, for instance, and the hook-and-crook bucks round Waltham Chase and the Forest of Bere; only think of these, and all the *women and girls and boys*, having it proposed to them to have *some oil put over them* to prepare them for heaven, while the barns were full of corn and the farmers' racks full of bacon and their sties full of pigs! If such a proposition were to be made to them, all that we have to say, is, *that we should not like to be the priests!* Oh, no; Mr. Nolan. You can do nothing with this matter, in the way that you have taken it up. You begin at the *wrong end*. Give the *extreme unction* to the *Debt*, and some *other things*; and then the poor-laws will *go back*. They are precisely like those that they relate to. Let them *alone*, a good deal, and they will do pretty well; but the Devil himself cannot *drive them*.

MR. WESTERN'S RESOLUTIONS.—We have no room for this *large* subject. It is deemed worthy of a more *stately* sort of notice; and will, in our paper of next Monday, be discussed in a *Letter to Lord Milton*, who took a conspicuous part in the debate. [N.B. For this Letter, which treats the

subject in a more elaborate manner than it is the object of the "Commentaries" to do, see the *Register* of 20th July.]

JULY 13, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Nothing worthy of particular notice. Merely the passing of some Bills.

IN THE COMMONS.—QUEEN'S SERVANTS.—Upon the report being brought up for granting pensions to the servants of the late Queen, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Stuart Wortley, and Mr. Brougham, contended, that there ought to be pensions for Sir Wm. Gell and Lady Ann Hamilton.—This was not, however, acceded to; and we hope it will not. Sir William Gell does not appear to us to merit any thing; and at a time like this, it would be scandalous indeed to grant a pension to the sister of a Duke, under any circumstances that can possibly be imagined. Inconsistent indeed should we be if we did not say that the Ministers have acted perfectly right in this case. We think that Sicard has too much, but Mr. Vansittart's reason for it was the best that could be given to satisfy us; namely, that it was the allowance which Her Majesty herself gave him out of her own income; and this is the more praise-worthy in the Ministers, as it will be well recollected by the public, that Sicard, acting the part of an honest man, *really gave the only efficient evidence* that was given for his ill-treated mistress.

LOTTERY BILL.—Mr. Hume, stated that the tickets were sold by the Government at *ten pounds*, and that *the contractors sold them*

for nineteen or twenty!—He wanted a new regulation as to Lottery Offices. This was not attended to; but surely here is enough to convince any body what folly it is to purchase tickets in the Lottery. As to the *immorality* of the thing, it is in vain to talk of that; for with taxes like ours, and revenue laws like ours, to talk of morality is a farce.

MARRIAGE ACT.—This Act was brought back from the Lords with amendments. The Attorney General opposed the Bill; he wished the discussion of it to be postponed. He stated several powerful objections to it; but finally the Bill was passed by a very great majority. This Bill will inevitably create great confusion; and that at a time, too, when God knows there is confusion enough already.

PRIVILEGE.—Last night, Mr. Abercrombie, to our agreeable surprise, *made his appearance in the House!* The Speaker, having been directed by the House so to do, stated to Mr. Abercrombie what had taken place in the House relative to his affair, and concluded by enjoining him, pursuant to the order of the House, “not to prosecute any quarrel against any person or persons, arising out of the said breach of privilege by sending or accepting any challenge.” The only objection that we have to this is, that some persons may look upon it as a recognition on the part of the House, of the legality and propriety, generally speaking, of the foolish, the beastly, the hypocritical, and nine times out of ten, (as carried on in this country) *imposture-like* practice of duelling. If, indeed, the

fellows were to go into the field, as the Yankees do, and not come out of it till one, or both, of the parties were killed or crippled, we should have to say that it was no *sham*, at any rate. But, for a couple of men to go out to *fight*, and come back again kissing one another, after having *fired in the air*, and perhaps only with paper-bullets (which we understand is the case nine times out of ten) and upon that ground to claim the title of *gentlemen*, and men of honour: this is what we object to; these are amongst the worst of impostors. The Speaker having finished, Lord Althorp rose to explain how it was that Mr. Abercrombie *got back*; and a very curious explanation it was.—He said that his Honourable and Learned Friend, when he left London, went to him in Northamptonshire; that they pursued their course, as fast as they could, *to the North*; that, on their arrival at Ferry-bridge, they became informed of what had passed in the House; that they then saw that they *could not accomplish their object*, seeing that Mr. Menzies was ordered up by the House; that his Honourable and Learned Friend was *desirous to obey the orders of the House as promptly as possible*; and that he (Lord Althorp) felt it his duty to advise his Honourable and Learned Friend to return to London without delay, either to present himself in his place in Parliament, *or to pursue the original object of his journey*.—Upon this, if we were permitted to make remarks, we should say, that, there does not appear to us to have been quite sufficient reason given for the return, since the Noble Lord and

the Honourable and Learned Gentleman would have been at the end of their journey full as soon as the orders of the House; but, we highly applaud the prudence of the parties, and are glad to see Mr. Abercrombie in the place, instead of pursuing the original object of his journey; which, if we were to characterize it, would, under all the circumstances of the case, stand in no very respectable light.—Here we should stop, waiting for the making of farther remarks upon the subject, until after the alleged offenders had been before the House; but, as was noticed in our paper of Wednesday, something has been said on the subject *out of doors*, and especially by the *Morning Chronicle*. This print had said on Wednesday that which we thought *backed up*, or endeavoured to back up, the doctrine of Mr. Brougham. But, on the next, the *Chronicle*, in explanation, said, “*God forbid, that we should subscribe to the doctrines laid down by the House, on the subject of privilege.*” The *Chronicle* quotes the *New Times*, which contends as we do, that “*let the law say what it will, it is perfectly certain, that no English gentleman could submit to gross insult or calumny, though it should reach him in the shape of a newspaper report of a speech in Parliament.*” Well said, Doctor! Even you will not subscribe to the doctrine, that Mr. Cobbett was to remain silent, when he saw your report of the insulting and calumnious speech of Sir Edward Knatchbull, now *Member* and late *Tax-gatherer* of the county of Kent. And, you will please to observe, Doctor,

that *every man* has the same rights; and that *any one* of the *calumniated Reformers* had just as good a right to proceed in the manner that Messrs. Hope and Menzies have proceeded as they had to proceed thus. But, to return to the *Chronicle*: it says (on Thursday) that “*it has been erroneously supposed by some of our contemporaries, that we are advocates of the claims of privileges set up by the House, because we reprobated the system of challenging Members for what they may utter in the discharge of their public duty, or making use of words amounting to a challenge.*” What a deal of time would be saved, if men would always *speak plain*. If the *Chronicle* had, on Wednesday said, that its objection was confined to the *pistolting* mode of obtaining redress; that is to say, to the fool’s, the guilty man’s, and really the *coward’s* mode; if it had said, on Wednesday, that *this* was what it reprobated, it would have needed to spend no time in its own defence on Thursday. But, it did not say this; nor any thing like this. On the contrary, it talked about a *system of attack*; it talked about cutting up privilege by the roots; it quoted Mr. Brougham’s words, and *adopted* them! And, what sort of *attack* were we to suppose it meant? Why, to be sure, *the same sort of attack* that Mr. Brougham meant. And, what sort of attack did he *mean*? Why an attack with the *pen*! He talked of tearing up *privilege by the roots* by attacks on *individual Members*; he was less afraid of general attacks on the House in its *corporate capacity*, however

gross and indecent. What! Could the *Chronicle* believe him to mean general attacks with swords and pistols! This would be attacking the Collective with a vengeance! Oh, no! The *Chronicle* knew that he meant no such thing. Then, again, Mr. Brougham said, that, in a case where an individual put his name to a letter and addressed it, in print to a Member, such individual ought to be called on by the House to answer for, or explain, his conduct. Now was there any thing about challenging here? The *Chronicle* must have known better; and it must have known, too, that Mr. Brougham had in his eye, not any challenger to fight with pistols; but a great challenger to fight with peas! The plain truth is, that he had in his eye, him who has written, and who is almost continually addressing "Letters to Members," such as *Letter to Tierney*, for instance, on the subject of their speeches in the House. This was the challenger; this was the attacker; this was the singler out, whom Mr. Brougham had in his eye, when he was making this speech, and who will address a letter to Mr. Brougham in the very next *Register* on the subject of this very speech! We shall, therefore, say nothing more on the matter at present. In a few days Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies will be up to answer for their having endeavoured to defend themselves. We will just add a word about the establishing, by subscription, of the *Scotch John Bull newspaper*, about which so much has been said. It has been represented as a sort of crime to subscribe and combine to establish and uphold a thing like this by subscription. Is it not noto-

rious that this is done on both sides? And, if we are told that the thing is bad, we can only say, that it is an evil inseparable from the freedom of the press. In America the editors of newspapers are, in many cases, the mere servants of the opposing parties, and would no more think of publishing their own sentiments, if they differed from those of their party, than a footman would think of telling his master what meat he should have on his table. To employ the public money in this way is, indeed, an atrocious act; but these Scotch *John Bull* men are accused of no such thing. They are accused of giving their own money.—But, this Scotch *John Bull* was a paper that attacked private character.—And, what of that? We say of it as of the *London John Bull*. Its attacks are true or false: if the latter, the parties may be punished legally; besides being exposed by the press to public indignation or scorn; and if true, the attacks are meritorious, and must necessarily do good. We do not like this wincing about private character. Let the attacks be true, and we always approve of them; or, at the least, we never make them subject of censure. And, it really does appear a little strange to us, that such a clamour against writings of this sort should be set up by those, who have traded so largely in private letters, and who really began the present wrangle by getting private letters out of the hands of Borthwick. Challenging a Member for what he has said in his speech would be bad enough; for, it is always bad; but, is it so bad, as to get a man's private

papers out of the hands of one to whom they had in confidence been committed, and *founding a challenge upon those papers?*—Here, indeed, is “a *system*” that wants putting down; the *private letter system*. The *Ramp, Wright*, and Sir F. Burdett, were leaders in this amiable system; Bott Smith of Liverpool followed it up; and, one would have thought that *their fate*, ought to have been a warning to others. This *system* ought to be put down with all speed; and we think that its effects in Scotland will give it its death-blow.—Returning for a moment to the *House*, we cannot but *admire* the readiness which Lord Althorp and Mr. Abercrombie showed to pay attention to what they found in a *newspaper*! See the *good of Newspapers*!

JULY 16, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Last night Lord Lansdowne asked a question about the seizure and condemnation of an *English ship by the Spaniards*. The Minister said, the thing was *true*; but, talked of *no remedy*. Never was there so pacific a Government as ours is become. *Achilles*, at Hyde Park Corner, is to be viewed, we beg the French and Yankees to understand, merely as “the *man of the ladies*,” and not in his *all-conquering* capacity. If that had been the idea, he would have been made of *paper*, and not of *brass*; for, as the Bank Directors well observed, at the time of Peel’s *Bill*, the *Bank* it was that gained our “*victories*” more than any thing else.

THE LICENSING BILL had a clause expunged from it, without which the Bill is of *no use at all*.

We said from the beginning, that no law of this sort, to be of any use, would, or could be adopted under the *system*. Licensing, as now carried on, is not less necessary to the *Boroughs* than they are to the Debt and the Debt to them.

IN THE COMMONS.—Sir James Macintosh presented a petition from certain persons (not named) praying that *assistance* might be given to the *Greeks against the Turks*; that is, of course, praying for war! We have no objection at all; but, we know well that to pray for war, and *not* to pray for a *reduction of the interest of the Debt*, is a proof of insanity. We wish Whitehall would prepare for war a little! We should soon see what the funds are made of.

BEER SELLING BILL.—Mr. Western presented a whole heap of petitions from *brewers* and *publicans* against Mr. Brougham’s Bill for allowing people to *sell beer*, and Mr. Brougham, gave a curious history (see his speech) of the manner in which the *publicans* were induced by the *brewers* to sign such petitions!—Brougham very well observed (as we had observed before) that this was a measure for the causing of an increase of consumption of articles the produce of our *own land*, though Mr. Western was working against it. We do not believe the Bill will pass. The *Boroughs* want the monopoly which now exists, and which, in fact, makes a part of the *Borough-system*.

SUNSET AND RISE BILL.—This Bill, on which we have so often had to remark, was read a third time without a division. It will, probably, get through the LORDS in a week; and then the Irish (as to moving about at least)

will be *taken good care of* for another year!—In the meanwhile, the newspapers tell us, that **A HUNDRED AND FORTY OF THEM HAVE ACTUALLY DIED OF HUNGER IN ONE PLACE!** in MAYO; and, we know, that *a hundred eggs sell for fivepence* in that same county!

In this debate Mr. Monck said, that the Irish gentlemen ought to introduce amongst the people of that country the use of *grain* instead of that of *potatoes*! Mr. W. Smith said, that if the people continued to *eat potatoes* they might *not be improved for ages*! Well! Well! We (Mr. Cobbett) are to be *conjurers* at last! How many years of reproaches, nay of *downright abuse*, have we had to endure on account of our "*singular notions*" about this "*healing swelling and soul-degrading root*!"—We dare say, that Lord Milton would, with a little time for reflection, call to mind, that it was "*Dr. Copplestone*" and himself, that first *anticipated* these sad effects from *potatoes*!—Mr. Smith said, further, that one cause of the degradation and misery of the Irish was the *want of poor-laws*! At him, Malthus! At him! At him, Sturges, Scarlett, Brougham, the *Chronicle*, and all the whole band of *Edinburgh Reviewers*! At him!

IRISH ESTIMATES.—For *bar-racks* and many other things. Mr. Hume observed, that the money that Ireland *cost* annually was *six millions*, and the money she paid *five millions*! This, however, is far better than it will be, if the present system continue.

SCOTCH MONUMENT.—Lord Binning wanted 10,000*l.* to be granted towards building a "*na-*

tional monument" in Scotland, in honour of the late "*glorious war*." It was not granted; but, the applicants are a sort of people, who do not easily *demer-dent*, as the French call it; that is to say, *let go their bite*, when they once stick their teeth in.

JULY 17, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—The *Cruelty to Animals Bill* received a notification of its being *thrown out* in a day or two, as Lord Liverpool said he disapproved of this *petty legislation*, which would interfere with men in their ordinary moral duties. The *Small Note Bill*, which was read a third time and passed, brought up the Earl of Carnarvon, who, having said, that he approved of the Bill, as the means of keeping afloat the country-paper, proceeded to say, that the cash measures had been the great cause of the distress in agriculture; that it was not the seasons which had produced the ruin, but the changes in the quantity and value of the currency; that the Ministers when they were complaining of the evils of plenty, should recollect that we had prayers for plenty in the Liturgy; that in former times, peace and war had nothing to do with prices; that they were frequently higher in times of peace than in times of war; that the prices, after having fallen in 1814, 1815, and 1816, rose again upon fresh issues of paper coming out in 1817; that the inability of the people in Ireland to pay rents, tithes and taxes, arose principally from the change in the value of money, and that this change has been the principal cause of the present famine; that the public

creditor was at present paid too much, and especially if he had lent his money after the depreciation began; that it was right, therefore, that this should be rectified; that if the present measure (Peel's Bill) were pushed to its full extent, it would go the length of confiscating, at no distant period, great portion of the landed property of the kingdom, for that it would transfer from the hands of the landlords and families the whole of their possessions into the hands of others.—We congratulate his Lordship upon having been *so close and attentive a reader of the Register*. He did well; but if he had made an acknowledgment of it he would have done better. Being, however, one of the “*education of the country*,” he doubtless thought such an acknowledgment not suited to his dignity.—His Lordship had some notions of his *own*. The jet of which was, that the circulating medium, ought by another Bank restriction to be *brought back to what it was when agriculture flourished*. So, you see, his Lordship is not for our *Kentish* mode of reducing the interest of the Debt, which, observe, could not be adopted *without a reform of the Parliament*! This is always the choker with the Whigs. It is good enough, to be sure, to hear them, who are really the originators of Peel's Bill, and who baited and badgered and tormented the Ministers till they passed it; it is very good to hear them crying out murder against this Bill; but it is still better to hear them crying out against this plain and honest proposition of the County of Kent, while they recommend that old

hacknied piece of fraud, a depreciated paper money. We have no landed estates ourselves. We may never have any, and we may have some. But, this we can say with perfect sincerity, that if we had them, if they were the place of our birth, and were covered with growing young trees of our own planting, amongst which were endless broods of game of our own rearing and preserving, we would rather see the whole confiscated, and ourselves bundled into the road, than see adopted the measure recommended by Lord Carnarvon; than see the labourer again robbed of his earnings in order to draw masses of money together to fatten bankers and attorneys, and to sweep away the remnant of the small farms which the cruel system of paper-money has suffered to remain. We applaud the answer of Lord Liverpool as far as it related to this point. His Lordship said, as he once before said; that it was better at once, openly and candidly to expose our affairs, and to *pay so much in the pound*, than resort to the *trick of a depreciated currency*! This is just what the County of Kent prayed for. His Lordship said, that this (the measure recommended by Lord Carnarvon) was, “a less honest way than by a diminution of the interest.” Thus, then, what becomes of that charge of *fraud* which John Smith (Carrington), brought against the people of Kent; and what becomes of that “*counter petition*” which Knatchbull presented a few days ago, and the *signatures to which* (about *thirty* in number) we will insert in our paper of to-morrow, and show what a pretty sort of peti-

tion this was to put in opposition to that of the whole county of Kent? Lord Carnarvon did not perceive, nor has Mr. Western, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Attwood, or any one of those who are for a return to the fraudulent paper-money, reflected on the consequences of such return! Do they think, that we can return to that accursed thing, and go on quietly with it as we did before? Do they think, that an act which would in fact declare the nation *unable to pay in coin*, would not have all the effects of a bankruptcy. The Minister says it would. He says it would be a partial bankruptcy. Not just so, my Lord: it would be a whole bankruptcy; and confusion would follow, of course. To keep up legal tender after next May would be a bankruptcy. To make Borough Bank Notes a legal tender in exchange for country rags would be a *partial* bankruptcy; and Lord Liverpool, though you do not seem to think it, the Small Note Bill, which you were just then passing, is a part repeal of Peel's Bill, and is, indeed, a partial bankruptcy, since it acknowledges an inability to return to the ancient currency of the country. Lord Carnarvon, though he has read the *Register* with such laudable industry, has suffered his mind to be puzzled by the botheration of the Jews and jobbers. He said, that at the present moment the market price of gold was under the Mint price, and, therefore, the paper currency was now *more valuable than gold*!—Strange that his Lordship should not have attended to the refutation of this error in the ten *Letters to Landlords*. Let him read one of those letters, which

was written in a snug little farmhouse, lying close on the borders of his Lordship's estate in Hampshire; let him read the three Letters addressed to Lord Liverpool last March; and then we think he will fling the dunder-headed trash of Ricardo into the fire, and that he will see, that gold as merchandise and gold as currency are very different things. He will then be able to account for wheat being at a high price when gold is at a low price, and for gold being at a high price when wheat is at a low price, and for exactly the opposite of these; for both have frequently taken place. He will then see, that gold, as currency, is influenced by the paper with which it circulates. But, to cut short the matter with him, if he will take gold as the *standard*, then he has no right to complain of the effects of Peel's Bill; for, at the time of passing that Bill, gold was only about four per cent. or four and a half per cent. higher in price than it is now; and according to his Lordship's own standard, the alteration of the currency, produced by that Bill, can have brought down prices only four and a half per cent. His Lordship must reject Ricardo altogether, or follow him all through. This Small Note Bill is now passed. The *legal tender*, which once got into it, has been frightened out of it by us, notwithstanding the declared resolution of Mr. Pascoe Grenfell, who once said, that he would move for the re-insertion of the clause. This Bill has never been *printed*; but we dare say, that good, kind Old Andrew Strahan will sell it us when it comes out in the shape of an Act;—Andrew

will hardly keep the law to himself! It is No. I. of the steps in repeal of Peel's Bill; and our readers shall have it.

IN THE COMMONS there was no House again! The Members seemed tired of the thing. But, the truth is, there is nothing more to be originated. The things that are yet to be finished, have been agreed on. We imagine, that the Session has been drawled out, merely to give time to see what turn the affairs of Ireland would take. There will be little of turn in them, we suspect. We can see no reason (as we said some days back) for a cessation of the famine; for, as we showed in our paper of Monday, and as is daily proved from all quarters, and from persons of all descriptions, the famine does not arise from scarcity! Our readers will recollect, that, about ten days ago, Mr. Goulburn said, that the reports of the state of Ireland were "*satisfactory*." This agrees pretty well with what is now positively stated in the Dublin papers; namely, that a hundred and forty persons have actually died recently of starvation, in one part of one county! This shows, too, what reliance we ought to place on the ministerial statements. It is an undoubted fact, that food was never so cheap as it is now in Ireland, and even in the parts where the famine rages! This we have upon the authority of statements in Parliament; and upon the better authority of *Export Lists* of corn and meat. When therefore is the famine to cease?

JULY 18, 1832.

IN THE LORDS.—The Irish Sun-

set and Sunrise Act was read a first time, and is to be read a second time on Friday.

SCOTCH JURIES' BILL.—This Bill went into a committee, and would have gone in and gone out, or been thrown out or passed, without any remark from us, had it not been for the Duke of Montrose, who said, that as the present practice had produced no inconvenience, he was unwilling to change it for any untried theory; and, he said, he applied "this remark" to all improvements, as they were called, in the Parliament, "or in any other way."—Well, really, if the landlords and farmers find "no inconvenience" in the state of things, which has been produced by Peel's Bill and other Acts, the Noble Duke is right enough. The labouring classes suffer, to be sure; but less than they did; and, they have the satisfaction to know, that their old and inveterate foes, the Broughsmongers, are not much at their ease. However, one thing is to be kept in mind, and that is, that, no reform of Parliament, no reduction of Debt. If the Irish find "no inconvenience" from dying with famine, while eggs are five for a halfpenny, really, as his Grace says, there ought to be no improvement. Things are as they ought to be; and thus we must leave them to time.

THE GREEKS.—Earl Grosvenor moved for papers relative to the Greeks, which motion was negatived. His Lordship has long been famous for his knowledge in the Greek language, in which we recollect, he once spoke, in the other place; and, we are glad to find that he has an attachment to the Greek people, to whom

we wish success, now that their cause is no longer espoused by the *Holy Autocrat*. Our Ministers can, however, help the Greeks with nothing but their *prayers*. Nations have but two modes of interfering in such cases, *praying* and *fighting*; and the latter is wholly out of the power of those who are compelled to be constantly *taking off taxes*.

THE IRISH GRAND JURY BILL — was thrown out; but with a pledge, on the part of the Ministers, that another should be brought in next Session of Parliament.

IN THE COMMONS. — SOUTH AMERICA. — A question was asked, relative to our acknowledgment of the *Independence* of that country; but no answer was obtained.

BEER-SELLING BILL. — We should like to see this good Bill pass, were it only for the *novelty* of the thing; but we see no hope of it, and cannot help lamenting, that the powerful influence of the eloquence of Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Hobhouse are not exerted in its favour, seeing that the people of Middlesex and Westminster are parties so deeply interested in the thing.

IRISH SCHOOLS. — Seventeen thousand pounds of the public money was voted for Irish *Protestant* Schools! Who *takes* this money? Through *whose hands* does it pass? We should like to have the *names* of these parties.

PRIVILEGE. — Agreeably to the order of the House, Messrs. Hope and Menzies appeared at their bar last night. They both *justified* their conduct; but said, that they had the most *profound veneration* for the privileges of the House, and did not think that they were violating them, when they

wrote and published their letters to Mr. Abercrombie. Mr. Hope went so far as to say (and, apparently, *without laughing*) that the privileges of the House were as "*dear to him as his own life*;" and, being, as he is, a *relation* of Lord Binning, we can easily understand and believe him. Those privileges are, to all such persons, very precious things. — The House, after hearing the defence of these Scotch Lawyers, voted, *that it would proceed no further in the matter*; and we dare say, that this called to the minds of the Lawyers what Swift says about *votes* in his poem of the *Legion Club*, and what we shall take special good care not to repeat here! Sir Francis Burdett ridiculed the *idea* of such *privilege* altogether, and very ably exposed its absurdity altogether. He said that privilege was given the Members for their *protection*, and not as a means of *assaulting others with impunity*. He had here a fair opportunity of exposing the whole thing in its proper character; and he did not fail to avail himself of it. A most excellent speech, which we recommend to the perusal of our readers; more especially as it was the only speech worthy of attention. Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Brougham and Mr. Tierney wanted something *more* done; but, the INS managed the matter very *adroitly*; they *protected their friends* and *took the popular side too*! They are seldom so completely in *luck* as 'this, and this they owe, not to themselves, but to their blundering opponents, who have such an eagerness to get into place, that they always run headlong into some mess or other at

every push they make. In Scotland, this affair will give the INS great triumph. The poor *feekosers* will hang their heads to their knees. The *Edinburgh Review* is, we understand, after many years of dotage and drivelling, *about to expire*, though a Jew Doctor, who has the reputation of being an "Oracle," and who has been called in in this desperate case, has undertaken to make body and soul hang together for a little longer. Whenever the fatal event shall happen we would recommend a monument with two Scotch Whig-Lawyers hanging their heads, instead of two weeping-willows. — Mr. Jeffrey was generous enough to say, two years ago, that he would never accept of any office that he was *not competent to fill*. Very true; and, doubtless, Messrs. Brougham, Macintosh and Abercrombie are quite ready to make the same *self-denying* declaration. But, then, what office is there in this world, that they are not *competent to fill*? The present people by no means deny, that their opponents are very fit to fill offices; but, then, they themselves are *also fit*; and they are IN! — This, which we have now beheld, is only a mere incident growing naturally enough out of a long struggle of the OUTS to get into the places of the INS. This being the plain fact, how ridiculous is it in the sorry and sinking *Old Times* to make a pompous display of statement on the subject, and to seem to think that it was able to *rouse* the public *against the breakers of privilege*! And, how still more ridiculous in the *Morning Chronicle* to inform its readers, as it does this day, that

the King (Good God!) put off his visit to Scotland, "until the termination of an affair that threatened to *agitate the public mind* there;" and that this affair being now *over*, the King is *going*, as soon as Parliament is prorogued! What wild stuff is this! What "puddle in a storm!" The King suspend his visit to Scotland, because half a dozen place-hunters were endeavouring to badger half a dozen placemen out of their places! Monstrous! "*Agitate the public mind*" of Scotland! What! The sober, sensible, virtuous, and industrious people of Scotland agitated by stuff like this; and in a way, too, to influence them in their *behaviour towards the King*?

JULY 19, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Mere matters of form; and we must confess, that, if their Lordships have not done any very great deal, they have been so good as not to give us any great deal of trouble.

IN THE COMMONS.—Mr. Abercrombie gave notice that he should on Tuesday next make a motion relative to Borthwick.

RECEIVERS'-GENERAL BILL.—This is a Bill for giving salaries to the Receivers'-General, and for regulating matters concerning their office. Mr. Alderman Wood said, that a Mr. Barber had made an offer to the Treasury to do the business for Middlesex for about one half of the sum allowed by the Bill; and he said, that if Mr. Barber's proposition were not accepted, he should divide the House upon the Bill.—The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Lushington, said that Mr. Barber's proposition was under the *serious* consideration of

the Treasury. W, now that the strong dislike to the tiger espoused of the word serious. *Serious* has "bits," mean hypocrisy; and, very frequently, profound villany. Your serious people are very frequently rogues, and if they are not rogues, they are generally fools. A man once wanted to have an *hour's* serious conversation with us; we told him as we now tell Mr. Lushington, that we would not have an hour's serious conversation with him to save ourselves from being hanged. What must seriousness be, then, when found in the Treasury at Whitehall? If it mean roguery elsewhere, what must it mean in that place?—Yet, Mr. Alderman Wood appears to have been satisfied with this declaration on the part of the Ministers; for he said, that, "in consequence of" what had *fallen* from the Honourable Secretary he should decline dividing the House against "the Bill." "*Fallen*," indeed! It was *falling*. The words must fall out of a man's mouth when he is talking about *seriousness* at the Treasury; and especially about a serious intention to inquire into the propriety of laying out sixteen hundred in place of two and thirty hundred pounds of the public money for the same service. Why, here was an offer to do certain public work for *half* the money proposed by the Bill. What *seriousness* was required, then? If any man were to come to us and say that he would print this paper for half what we get it done for now, should we become serious on the occasion? Our present printers might be serious indeed; but we should be as gay as larks, snap him at his word, and get him down into black and white with-

out loss of time. Is it not then, very much like trifling to talk of declining further discussion or division, merely because a Secretary of the Treasury says that the matter is under serious consideration? It would require a great deal more than the patience of Job, to hear all this, and see such things going on, without expressing one's discontent. If Mr. Lushington had said that the Treasury would accept of Mr. Barber's offer, provided he had the proper securities, there might have been, then, a reason for declining to press any opposition to the Bill; but, as the thing stood, there does appear to have been no reason at all for it; and we think that it would have been much better for Mr. Alderman Wood to say nothing about the matter, since he so easily gave it up.

BEER RETAIL BILL.—There has not been, even if we include the Salt Tax Bill, a measure of more importance than this brought before the Parliament for many years past. It was very truly observed by Mr. Brougham, who has the honour to be the author of this Bill, that it was a measure of the most important character; and, one in which they were the most interested, as regarding their wealth, health and morals. Mr. Brougham opened his subject by insisting upon the right which the poor had to obtain beer at as cheap a rate as possible, allowing the unavoidable expenses of the taxes upon it. He said that the Act of Parliament meant the trade in beer to be free, and that it was the magistrates who had caused the monopoly. He described that miserable stuff the brewers' small beer; and ridiculed the idea of

the brewer or any body else, having what is called a vested right in a monopoly. Mr. Buxton opposed the Bill. He said he was one of the brewers; but, with an address, which, as Mr. Brougham afterwards observed, would have done credit to another profession, he kept these lords and masters, as Mr. Brougham truly called them, of the publicans, wholly out of view, and talked only of the ruin that it would bring upon no less, he said, than fifty thousand persons, and affect thirty millions of property. He then proceeded to describe the character of the publicans; said that they, generally, had formerly been servants, and had earned their small capitals by gradual means and strict industry. This was a very clever way of doing the thing; just as if the publicans were the owners of the houses; just as if the publicans brewed their own beer; just as if they had any "vested interest" in either the houses they lived in or in the nefarious monopoly which is robbing and poisoning the people. Another thing that Mr. Buxton insisted on was, that it would be *injurious to the morals of the people*. He did not attempt to show how their morals would be injured by purchasing good beer to carry to drink at home in their families; he did not attempt to show how this would be more injurious, than the men alone going to the public-houses and sitting there to drink the whole, to the exclusion of their families, and to the not unfrequent destruction of the peace and happiness of those families. He did not attempt to give any reasons upon the subject; nor did he attempt to prove another as-

sertion of his, namely, that if this Bill passed, it would be sold by persons without character and without money. We were not a little surprised, at the part which Mr. Alderman Wood took upon this occasion, it being, according to our view of the matter, in *direct hostility to the best interests of the great mass of the people*. The Worthy Alderman contended, that it would be injurious to the interests of a *large class of persons*. He, too, omitted all mention of the interests of the brewers, and seemed to regard it as a Bill affecting the publicans only. He said that houses were taken and built upon the supposed conditions of the existing law; and that many *widows and orphans* would be ruined by the violations of those conditions. *Conditions! What conditions? And what widows and orphans?* The Worthy Alderman said, that one-tenth of the whole number of persons affected by the Bill, were in London and its neighbourhood, and were "*probably his constituents*." Just as if the publicans *only* were to be affected by the Bill, when it is manifest to all the world that the persons affected would be the great brewers; those who brew what they please, and compel others to sell it, because unless they sell it, they are turned out of those vested interests about which such an impudent clamour is made. Mr. Buxton went very far in this way. He contended that this law was a *violation of the rights* of those who owned the houses and sold the beer. The Alderman went a little farther: he talked of conditions upon which the houses were built and the trade undertaken. The monstrousness of this doctrine will

appear in a minute, if we suppose the people of Farnham calling the *tax upon hops* a vested interest. It is very well known, that the tax upon hops is advantageous to the people of Farnham. The Alderman knows that their hops are better than any other in England; that they will sell for more money; that they have a stamp, or coat of arms, which no other hop-planter dare imitate; that, in short, their hops, whether from fashion or from intrinsic value, will always sell for more than other hops. This the Alderman knows well. Now, he also knows well, that the tax upon Farnham hops, Kentish hops, Sussex hops, Worcestershire hops, is *all the same*; not *ad valorem*: not according to the *value*; but so much *per lb. weight*. The tax, therefore, is a manifest advantage to the hop-planters of Farnham. Now, then, suppose, which is a case a little more in point than his supposition about *Attorneys being permitted to plead at the bar*, between which and the case before the House, there was about as much as little analogy as it is possible for any one to describe, or form an idea of; suppose a hop-planter at Farnham, upon a Bill being brought in to abolish the hop-tax; suppose such hop-planter were to come with a petition and say, "I have planted my hop-garden at a great expense; I have bought the poles, which I can apply to no other purpose; I have done all this upon the *supposed condition* that the hop-tax was always to continue, and was always to give me an advantage over my countrymen in Kent and other counties: do not, therefore, repeal the hop-tax, for if you do,

"you will violate these conditions, you will despoil me of my vested interest, you will expose my widow and orphans to ruin." Suppose this; spitting in the face is not the fashion in England, but souses in the chaps are in fashion; and, really, if I (speaking now in the first person) were a Member of Parliament, and one of my townsmen of Farnham were to put a petition like this into my hands, and were to repeat the words of it to me, I should be very much disposed to give him that souse; though I do sincerely believe that I have as much regard for my townsmen as the worthy Alderman has for his constituents. But are we to stop here? No. If the worthy Alderman's doctrine be good for any thing, it must go a great deal further. Have not malt-houses been built upon the "*supposed condition*" that persons in their private houses are not to be permitted to make malt; have not candle-makers' establishments, soap-boilers' establishments, tanners' establishments, all been founded upon "*supposed conditions*?" So, then, according to this damnable doctrine; for damnable it is if ever any thing damnable were; according to this doctrine, the taxes can never be taken off, and, indeed, never diminished; and here is a complete and everlasting bar to the English farmer ever turning his own barley and his own offal fat into malt, soap, and candles. All will have vested interests; and, pray had not the maltsters a vested interest in the shilling a bushel on malt which has just been taken off? And the salt-people; what are to become of them, when the tax is wholly taken off? This doctrine

is the *very worst* that ever was broached in Parliament within my recollection; and it is the more necessary to notice and to deprecate it and to stigmatize, seeing the source from which it comes. This whole paper would not be sufficient to contain all that might be said against this hateful doctrine; but to mention one thing more, just for the present, the worthy Alderman was opposed to the *Corn-bill*. Now the farmers had taken their lands with wheat upon an average of years at 12 shillings a bushel, and a South-Down Lamb at the Autumnal fairs at 27 shillings. A state of things arises, owing to Acts of Parliament, to make the farmer sell his wheat at five shillings a bushel and his South-Down Lamb at 14 shillings. According to the Alderman's doctrine the farmer had a vested interest in the old prices; and, therefore a *Corn-bill*, according to his *Corn-bill*, or some other measure was just and necessary to give him those prices; and the people were to starve, or all to be made parish-slaves at the least, for the purpose of upholding this vested interest.—I shall say no more of this at present, though the subject must be revived; but, in the meanwhile, let me observe, that, while the Alderman is so anxious about the publicans, and says nothing about the brewers; while he thinks so much of those who retail the beer, and are, as Mr. Brougham called them, the *funnel* through which the brewers sucked down the earnings of the people; while the Alderman said nothing at all about the owners of the houses, of the Whitbreads, Hobhouses, and Barclays, he might, one would think,

have condescended to notice the professional class of this bungle-hole fraternity, namely, the Porter-Doctors, or as they are called in the pompous slang of the trade, the Brewers' Druggists; those gentlemen that visit the caves of the publicans, their pockets well stowed with *quassia* and *coculus indicus*, which, if they do not give strength to the limbs, send fumes up into the brain, and afford great profits to Doctors of another description by being the fertile source of palsies and apoplexies. The worthy Alderman over-looked this *professional* branch of the concern; but another time we hope he will take it into view, seeing that the stupifying effect of the drugs thus administered is an admirable preparation for that extreme unction so much in vogue in the sister kingdom. We cannot complete our remarks upon this debate to-day, but shall do it to-morrow.

JULY 20, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—The Irish *Sunset and Sunrise Bill* was read a second time. The Session is so far advanced, otherwise we might hope to see some Bill to preclude the necessity of the *extreme unction* measures in future; or, rather to put a stop to the state of things which calls for the application of that *last remedy* for distressed parishes. Who can tell us *when* the *famine* is to *stop*, if, in the *famished districts*, which is the fact, *five eggs are now sold for a halfpenny*? We know this to be a *fact*; we defy contradiction; and, let any one tell us, if he can, when, and from what cause, the *famine* is to *stop*. We want an *answer* as to this point. It is

money that is wanted, and not barrels of potatoes. The poor, starving labourers in Ireland want money to purchase the food which they themselves have raised; and want not to be insulted by that impudent, bragging "*charity*," whose "*feeling heart*," ships them off half a ton of rye-meal, costing three pounds, and stuns, or would stun, the nation with the intelligence of the boon, put down at *fifty-six pounds*! The Irish do not want this *impossible* sort of work. They want a *due share of their earnings*. They want the *English poor-laws*. They want what God commands, when he says, "muzzle not the ox as he treadeth out the corn." The case is plainly this: the rents, tithes, and taxes take so much of the money away, that the labourers are left to starve. Appoint overseers, who, in case of need, will go, armed by the law, to take from the rents and tithes enough to prevent starvation. This is the *only* remedy. There is no other. This is the way to "*civilize*" Ireland and to "*convert*" the Irish. But, there appears now to be no other way of putting a stop to real, raging, destroying famine. However, this subject demands a full discussion; for, certainly, none is equal to it in importance.

IN THE COMMONS.—*Some Journey-men Printers* petitioned, stating, that they had been called before a Committee to give evidence as to the *expense* of printing the *Journals of the House*; that they had *spoken the truth*; and that they had been *dismissed by their employers*, to the great injury of themselves and families. We should very much like to have

this petition, in order that we might insert it, together with the names of those employers, and any other particulars that these printers have to state; for, if it be really the fact, that they owe their dismissal to their having spoken the truth, they deserve public protection, and the protection, direct, of *Parliament*; otherwise, who, in such a situation, will ever give true evidence again?

CONSUL-GENERAL AT RIO JANEIRO.—This Consul's office has been the subject of a good deal of just complaint on the part of Mr. Hume. This subject is to come on again; and therefore we shall not notice it further at present; but cannot help observing, that our Consuls in America, and particularly that at New York, demanded fees enormous, and we believe, fees that never were demanded until of late years. The burden on English commerce is enormous. The most trifling thing cannot be shipped from New York without a fee to this Consul. The old tailor's brother, Stewart of the *Courier*, having published in his paper, in June, 1818, that Mr. Cobbett had been prosecuted in that country for a libel on the Government, a lie which was immediately adopted by the *Old Times* and by the other London newspapers, he got a document from the Attorney-General in order to send home to disprove the fact. He took it to this Consul to verify. He verified and signed it. Having done that, he held out his paw for two dollars, which Mr. Cobbett refused, and the Pious Preacher at a Dissenting Meeting-house in New York (for preacher he is) kept the document, though

he was told to tear off his name and give it up. "No," said he, "I have done the work, and I will be paid for it." This is the way in which the honour of England is upheld in foreign countries and ports.

STEAM BOATS.—Lord Binning presented a petition from *coach-proprietors*, praying that a tax might be laid on steam-boats! Mr. Alderman Wood will certainly support this petition, for here is clearly a violation of the "supposed conditions," upon which the coach-proprietors undertook their business; and they certainly have a "vested interest" in the limbs and brains of the people that have occasion to move from place to place, as much as the brewers have in the entrails and lungs of those who swallow *quassia* and *coccus indicus*. The coaches have been built upon these supposed conditions; and the coach-proprietors have a great deal better reason to complain than the owners of public-houses have, seeing that their coaches can be turned to no other purpose, and that the houses may. This doctrine of supposed conditions will go a great deal further if it be not stifled. We shall have the wagoners petitioning against the canal-people; and we shall certainly have the makers of woollen-cloth and hats (if these fine summers should continue) petitioning against the makers of cotton and linens, if not against the Sun himself, for, who the devil ever supposed; who ever could have understood, that there was ever to be sunshine in England from the first week in May to the last week in July. Here, Mr. Alderman, the Sun has vio-

lated the strict compact between him and the English cloth-workers; and though Parliament, omnipotent as it is, may not, perhaps, be able to make him hide his face, it can, at any rate, compel the English people to stew their carcasses to a jelly in cloth-coats, waistcoats and breeches, or go naked; and we have no scruple to say, that its power, exerted in this way, would be much less offensive to reason as well as to justice, than if exerted to compel the people to thirst or to swallow the poison concocted by the public brewers and their druggists.

TURKISH FRIGATE.—An explanation was given last night, and a very lame one, about this same frigate, which, it seems, has been fitted out at Deptford for the use of our Holy Ally, the Turk. It is a sort of blind story altogether; but, at the bottom, there certainly has been a leaning of friendship towards the Turk. However, though we have heard a great deal of what the Turk has been doing to the Greeks, we cannot say that, just at this time, we have much feeling to spare for the Greeks. We have a great deal more anxiety about our countrymen in Ireland; and shall never be induced to look much abroad for objects of compassion, while we hear of a hundred and forty Irish labourers actually expiring from hunger, while eggs are sold at five for a halfpenny upon the spot. While this horrible fact stares us in the face, impiously hypocritical must be the wretch that can occupy a moment of his time (if he be possessed of power in any degree) upon the distresses, miseries and sufferings of foreign nations.

HIGHGATE CHAPEL BILL. — There was a petition presented against this Bill, which seems to be pretty much of a job. It was referred to a Committee, so that we shall have the subject on another time.

IRISH COMMISSIONERS. — There are a parcel of Commissioners (paid out of the taxes) appointed to inquire into the fees and offices of Courts of Justice in Ireland. This is one of those things that naturally grow out of the system. It is an evil engendered by an evil; the thing altogether is radically wrong, and every attempt to mend it, only adds to its mischiefs. Mr. Hume complained that a *young* gentleman of the name of Plunkett (ha! a Plunkett!) had been appointed one of the Commissioners. With all due submission, we beg leave to observe that we think Mr. Hume's complaint not only groundless; but we must say, preposterous. For is it not desirable that there should be no *change* in these Commissioners; and is it not pretty certain that this Commission will last much longer than this Mr. Plunkett, though he may be now in his teens, will, in all human probability, continue to live: provided always, that the system, the glorious system of Boroughs and extreme Unction shall so long last. When we see a Commission for settling the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, lasting for *thirty years*, and at this day giving the Commissioners, at the head of whom is Mr. Hobhouse's venerable father, such thumping salaries, and such a nice house with clerks, door-keepers, necessary-women and stationary; when we see this;

and when we compare the magnitude of the Courts of Justice in Ireland with this Nabob affair; and when we further behold Sir Francis Burdett selecting the son of this Nabob-commissioner as the properest person in the world to be his *reforming colleague*; and when at last we see this reforming colleague put into Parliament by "Purity of Election;" when we see all this, how is Mr. Hume mistaken when he supposes Mr. Plunkett can possibly be too young to enter upon his commissioning career! Why, if it were not for these commissions, what would become of all those genteel, pale-faced, white-handed, black-gowned and tail-wigged gentlemen who have no briefs? What would become of them all, and of their parson and borough parents? Would Mr. Hume have them sweep the streets, or would he send them to work at the hand corn-mills at once? In time, indeed, and with the failure of the system, this is what they must come to; for they are too old to be taught to be carpenters, brick-layers, or even labourers, to be left to themselves. They must be employed in a way to have a master, or driver, constantly at their backs and heels. This *must come*; but we seriously remonstrate with Mr. Hume against anticipating the order of events. Let things go on, and every one will be in his place: to the mill-wheel and to the street-broom this race of beings will certainly come; but we pray Mr. Hume to let them come in the time and manner which the system has pointed out. Let Peel's Bill go into effect in May next, even with the little chipping that it has

received, and we shall see every one in his proper place in a very few years.

ALIEN BILL.—We have so often had this Bill before us that we will not fatigue our readers with any observation upon it. It was read a third time by the vote of a very large majority, notwithstanding a speech a-piece from Mr. Denman and Mr. Scarlett. We think a great deal more about the sentence lately passed by Mr. Denman upon one of Mr. Carlile's shopmen, and on which sentence the employer has so ably and so justly observed; we think a great deal more about this sentence passed by this new Judge "*chosen by the patriots*" of the city of Absolute Wisdom; we think a great deal more about this sentence and this shopman than we think about all the foreigners in existence, and especially about the gossiping and gabbling Abbé's, the case of one of whom was brought forward by Sir R. Wilson. We detest heartily enough every thing in the way of restriction upon the movements of foreigners, and feel ashamed that an American cannot move about England without a passport; but, really, we cannot endure to treat this as a matter of importance, while we see, under our noses such things as the prosecution and the sentence just mentioned. Liberty, indeed! it is pretty to hear men talk about liberty, when they can sit out a whole Session and say not a word about such matters. When they can see men, and, what is a great deal more, *women*, treated in such a manner, for merely expressing and upholding their abstract opinions; when they can behold this;

when they can see the treatment of Mr. Carlile, his wife, his sister; when they can see the wife, shut up in a dungeon with a baby at her breast; when they can see her delivered in that dungeon; when they can read, as they do, in the plain narrative of Mr. Carlile, of the horrible things committed upon him and his family; and when they can behold the matchless resolution of the suffering parties; when they can see and hear all this, and take not the smallest notice of it, to the winds we toss all their palaver about Abbé's Bonavista and the rest of the gossiping tribe. The Bill having been read a third time, Mr. Hobhouse moved, what we dare say he deemed a piece of *cutting sarcasm*, namely, an Amendment to the title of the Bill to repeal "so much of the *Great Charter of England* as related "to the ingress and egress of foreign reigners." This might have done, under other circumstances, but had a very lame effect after the preamble moved in the House of Lords by Lord King.—It came like the dialogue in the *Old Times*. People do not like onions or fish the second day. Very good while fresh; but very bad when stale.

We are compelled to put off our further observations on Mr. Brougham's Beer-bill until Monday. There is a happy alliteration here, and we are not without hope that Mr. Brougham and the big Beer-bill will become a standing toast amongst the labouring classes in England. This is the real foundation of all good education, Mr. Brougham. You are now dealing in stuff that will easily digest. It is *beer* and not *bibles*

that the people of England want, let Mr. Vansittart and Lord Liverpool say what they will. Lord Liverpool said (we read it in America) that this was a country of bibles; with a great deal more truth he might have said, that it was a *country of beer*.—There are some explanations about brewing necessary, which we shall give on Monday.

N. B. The names of the hole and corner petitioners in Kent will be inserted on Monday; and we will attend to John Walter and his quarrel with Dr. O'Meara as soon as possible. We have *never seen the Doctor's book*, but Walter himself tells us quite as much as we want to know. We will show *why* the *Times* newspaper must have been meant by Bonaparte!

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JULY 26, 1822.

IN THE LORDS.—Nothing but the forwarding of Bills, without any debate.

IN THE COMMONS.—There was a Bill about a *Loan* of or to the *East India Company*. We shall give a list of all the *public Acts*, at the close of the Session; and then we shall see *what* this Bill is. At present we can only say, that we *suspect* it means taxes on the people of England.

IRISH COMMISSIONERS.—There are a parcel of these gentry, appointed to *inquire* into the fees of Courts of Justice in Ireland. This is a fertile source of charge on the people; we mean this appointing of *bands of Commissioners*. It is generally a post for life. If all the "*Commissioners*," of all sorts, were mustered, they would form a famous battalion, if

not a brigade. They are generally promising young men of "*connection*," who have been bred to "the law," and who are not overloaded with those cares which the estates impose upon the elder branches of their respective families.—However, this makes a part of *the system*; and go on it must till that system be totally changed. The *want of rents* may give the system its *settler*; but, if it do not, something else must; for settled it will be.—This *Irish Commission* came before the House through the means of a petition from one of the Mitfords (relation of Lord Redesdale); and we say *one of them*, because they are *many*. This is one of the *Official families* with which this country is blessed. There are many of them that are; some how or other, always in possession of offices of some sort or other. It would seem to be a particular *breed* of persons adapted to the offices. They seem to have no other occupation. This Mitford complains, that the Chief Baron O'Grady has said, that he, Mitford, as *Pursebearer* (a nice post!) to the Lord Chancellor, received *greater fees* than *allowed by law*! O, dear! What, then, *Squire Mitford* is a *Pursebearer* and a *Commissioner* too! And so, he being engaged in inquiring into the fees of the Chief Baron, the Chief Baron has taken the liberty to comment a little upon *his fees*! And now brother Mitford comes to the House, complains, and wants to prove at the bar of the House, that brother O'Grady's statement is not true. O fie! better let it alone. It makes no difference, dear *Squire Mitford*. It is all the same to us;

it is indeed ; whether the 7,200*l.* (voted on Wednesday night) go to Commissioners who inquire into fees, or to those who *take the fees* ; only, there is just a bare possibility, that the 7,200*l.* (for this one year) will be paid out of our taxes to Commissioners, and that the *fees will continue the same*. This is bestowing a great deal of time upon Squire Mitford ; but the matter is far more important than many of those which are drawn out through whole columns of debates. One word at parting, Squire Mitford ; *agree amongst yourselves !* It is, in all human probability, not for long. Agree, for God's sake.

The Scotch Lawyer's dispute was brought on afresh, but nothing new, or worthy of particular attention, came out. It was a motion of the Lord Advocate for *papers*, which was agreed to. It is too late. Spoken even in thunder, the people would not listen to this matter any longer.

PIRACY.—Mr. Canning, who really seems to have become a very diligent and pains-taking representative of the Borough of Liverpool, and promises fairly to equal that sturdy old friend of the cause of convenience and comfort, Mr. Michael Angelo, brought forward a petition from his constituents, whose vessels have been rifled by the *South Americans*, to whom, therefore, the name of *Pirates* has been given ; and to put down whom Mr. Canning would seem to recommend *force*. Avast, Mr. Canning, avast ! Not so fast, if you please. Ask leave of the Debt, before you talk of *force*. The South Americans have neighbours, and those neighbours have some-

thing besides “ half a dozen *frigates* with bits of *striped bunting* flying at their mast-head.” Those neighbours may despise such empty and saucy expressions as this ; but they, too, have *force* ; pray remember that ; and, though you do not seem to know it, they are, in fact, the “ *Pirates* ;” that is to say, the persons, who, being in the service of the South American Government, seize our vessels, which, belonging to a nation that is not in amity with those Governments, carry on an unlawful trade with their territories. *Acknowledge the Independence* of South America ; come down, proud stomach, and acknowledge that Liberty has triumphed ; do homage to her, and think less of Holy Alliances made with soap and candle eaters ; listen, too, instead of rejecting, Mr. Lennard's motion of this very evening, for acknowledging the Columbian Republic, and you will hear no more of “ piracy.”—The truth is, our merchants want the *trade* ; and this they cannot have in safety without our Government acknowledging the Republic. This is all ; and, we must either acknowledge the Republic, give up the trade, or *go to war !* This is the only way of giving that “ *protection*,” of which Mr. Canning speaks.—Apropos : the papers tell us, that the Marquis of Hastings is *not coming to Europe very soon !* He was, it was said, to go to *Vienna* ! But, it is now said, that he is to remain in *India*. Why he should have gone from *India* to *Vienna*, and not have come to see, at least, the “ *Envy and Admiration*,” seems queer enough ! But, at any rate, if he

remain in India, our late Ambassador to Portugal cannot go to India, which is hot enough already, and which, if it had two Suns blazing upon it at once, and two such Suns, too, would, doubtless, be in a state to be compared to nothing in this world. Only think of the powers of *absorption* of two such Suns! God knows where the people would find those *refreshing showers*, of which Burke speaks!—We are really glad that Mr. Canning is not to leave us. The public will do us the justice to recollect, that we always doubted of his going, positively as the thing was asserted. Oh! we shall have him here; and have him out again by-and-by: it is only “an envious cloud” which hides the *sun of our prosperity*, which will, anon, burst forth again in all *wonted splendour*.”

DEFAULTERS.—From an abstract brought forward by Mr. Hume, it appears, that the amount of sums due to the public from defaulters, exclusive of *Ordnance and War Office*, is 1,124,395*l*. Much about the amount of the *Salt Tax*! No comment is necessary. The thing is unavoidable. It is one of the natural fruits of the system; and it is quite useless to talk about it, unless as a reason for *Reform*.

CANADA TRADE AND GOVERNMENT BILL.—A petition from the *Merchants*, by the hands of Mr. Ellice, brought on this subject; and, to our great satisfaction, the Ministers seem to have abandoned a measure, which we deem full of injustice, and very much savouring of a total subversion of the liberties of the people of Ca-

nada.—The Bill is founded on the very principle, which cost us the United States. It is a Bill which assumes the right of the Parliament to make what government it pleases for Canada without the consent of the people. And, it does seem strange indeed, that Sir Francis Burdett, of all men living, should have been a supporter, and almost the only supporter, of the Ministers upon this occasion!—Mr. Bright called the Bill a wicked and abominable measure, and protested, in the name of the absent colonists, against the taking away of their constitution, without consulting them. Sir Francis Burdett (we will take the report as we find it) — “Without entering into the abstract question, how far it was right to legislate for the interest of our colonies without previous communication with them, begged leave to protest against the exaggerated expressions of the Honourable Member for Bristol (Mr. Bright) which imputed to His Majesty’s Government an act of gross injury and tyranny against the Provinces of Canada. Having very different views of this question from the Honourable Member for Bristol—feeling that great credit was due to His Majesty’s Ministers for the very liberal views they entertained on this subject, and believing, that if the same enlightened system of Colonial policy had been pursued in early times, it would have been much better for the interests of this country, he felt it his duty to protest against the harsh and violent expressions of the Honourable Member for Bristol, which had

"no foundation whatever in reason or justice."

Heyday! Do our eyes deceive us! No; for we have looked into *all the papers*; and we find, that it *really was* Sir Francis Burdett. In a subsequent part of the debate, he expressed "his approbation of the measure, as one "which would be of great benefit "not to the colonies only, but to "this country. He hoped, that "notwithstanding the *theoretical* "and *technical* objections which "had been adduced, the measure "would pass into operation next "year."

We are quite convinced, that Sir Francis *knows* nothing at all about the *situation* of the colony in question, and can have no idea of the disturbance of property, and the many other ills that it would inflict; we are sure, that he does not know any thing of the *motives* which have induced *Merchants* to petition for the real disfranchisement of a whole people, without that people being permitted to have any thing to say for themselves. But, we do think it strange, that the two instances, in which Sir Francis has most prominently figured, during the present Session, should have been that of supporting this odious Bill, and that of recommending Ireland to be put under *martial law in the hands of the late Governor-General of India*, whom he so well recollects as connected with transactions brought forward by Mr. Paul! We do think this strange; but the *awkwardness* corresponds with the novelty of the situation of the party. As Mr. Windham said of Sheridan, when the latter began to creep about Addington, our "Hero comes,"

fires off like a raw recruit, hastily fallen into the ranks; pulls the trigger without taking aim, and is more likely to hurt his comrade than the enemy.

We must put off until to-morrow our remarks on the Proceedings of Wednesday, Thursday, and last Night. The Session draws towards a *close*; but very *interesting* matters come out. It is not in the *long and regular fights* that the most interesting things are found. A single line of a report is sometimes worth more than a long debate. The pretty *little thing* about printing editions of our *histories* at the *public expense*, for instance, is worth whole volumes of debates about the "*Constitution*." It is in those cases where you see the THING in its native hue; in its undress. And here it is a THING really worth seeing.

JULY 30, 1822.

Wednesday, July 24.—IN THE LORDS.—The formalities of passing and forwarding Bills.

IN THE COMMONS.—STOCKBRIDGE WRIT.—Mr. Calcraft moved for a new writ for this pretty sink-hole, in the room of John Foster Barham, who had accepted of the "*Chiltern Hundreds*!" We wonder what sort of concern this may be *altogether*! The parties as well as the thing itself render it a matter of some curiosity.

EXCHEQUER BILLS.—A vote authorizing the issue of this species of Government *promissory notes*, to the amount of no less a sum than *sixteen millions sterling*, was passed without a word either of *opposition* or *inquiry*! It will all end in a way perfectly natural.

DISTRESS IN IRELAND.—Mr. Rice, an Irish Member, presented a petition from certain householders in *Middlesex and Surrey*, praying relief for the distressed people in Ireland! *Who* were there, we wonder? They must, doubtless, mean to pray, that the relief should go out of the pockets of the Irish landlords, and *bishops* and parsons. They never can have prayed, that the people of England should be taxed to feed those, whose misery arises from there being no poor-laws in Ireland, and from the landlords, and *bishops* and parsons taking all away and leaving nothing for the relief of the poor! These petitioners never can mean this. Mr. H. Gurney said, that the *poor-laws* ought to be introduced into Ireland! Messrs. Dawson and Rice (two Irish Members) *objected to this*. Indeed! But, we shall have another opportunity to *do justice* to this objection. Mr. Hume *objected* too, and cited *Scotland* as a *happy* instance of the *absence* of poor-laws. Not so fast Mr. Hume. In 1819, the Scotch nobility and gentry *applied for a grant out of the taxes to keep the poor of that country from starving*. Pray, remember that. They did not get the money; but the suffering (or they told the thing that was not) was extreme, and many persons were *actually starved*. Besides, Scotland has continually, for nearly thirty years past had large sums *out of the taxes*, granted *expressly* to find *employment for the poor*. We shall see, what will take place when these grants stop; and *stop* they must. Not so fast, therefore, Mr. Hume. This is a matter not to be decided on in a

hurry. The Irish must have poor-laws, or *confusion*, just which the Parliament pleases; but, as to the *end* of the confusion, it may not have to *choose*.

COAL-METERS.—This, we understand, is a *very pretty affair*.—A petition was presented from a Mr. Bradfield, which stated, amongst other things, that one of the *Principal Coal-Meters* was a Lushington (brother, we believe, of Lushington, Secretary of the Treasury, and a Member for Canterbury) and that the said Coal-Meter Lushington was also a *Parson* and a *Commissioner for investigating the Irish Revenue*! The petition is printed, and our readers shall have it. In a *small way* this is one of the *neatest* things we have heard of. Perfectly, however, in character with the system.—Mr. Treasury Lushington assured the House, that *all was well*; and this thing appears to have dropped.

QUEEN'S SERVANTS.—In the Committee of Supply "Her Majesty's friends" said something about her *debts*; but, they took no opportunity to ask, why her name should not have been in the *Liturg*y as well as that of the *Bishop*.

OPHTHALMIC HOSPITAL.—The House voted 4,000*l.* to Sir Wm. Adams, though, to our mind, Mr. Bennet showed, that he ought not to have had a single farthing. Mr. Bennet's speech is worthy of particular attention.—Let us hope that the time is approaching, when a Parliament will busy itself with something other than the *disputes of Doctors* by eyes and eyelids. The dispute here seems to be between the *scissors* and the *knife*; and the *Knifites*

seem to have carried it ; and they have got the 4000*l.* at any rate, which we grudge them most cordially. *Parsons* and *Lawyers* have always been dipped with the THING ; and now, it seems, the Surgeons are to follow in this way of all flesh.

"ANCIENT HISTORY."—This seems to be as nice a thing as need be ! The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an Address to the King to cause two thousand pounds a-year of the public money to be laid out in printing editions of the "*Ancient Histories of the Kingdom* !" —Bang ! There is pretty work ! Who is to select the histories ? Who is to select the editors ? This will be a most beautifully impartial thing ! Who are to have the books ? What is to be the price ? Who is to pocket the produce ? We are come to something at last, when the Government is to set up printer and bookseller !—Nevertheless, Sir James Macintosh approved monstrously of this historical undertaking, or job of work ; and, as to Mr. Bennet, he "never gave a vote with more pleasure in his life !" —Oh ! how famously we shall have all the *Norman families* emblazoned in these "*Ancient Histories* !" We shall see exactly how they "*came in with the Conqueror*." But, let us have some *addenda*, Mr. Van, that will tell us how each family became possessed of lands and mines and manors. If you publish these histories, Van, at the peoples' expense, we will find somebody to supply the *Addenda*.—Better let it alone, Van. The more you stir it, the worse it will be.

Thursday, July 25.—IN THE LORDS.—Matters of form only.

IN THE COMMONS.—Mr. Hume brought forward a string of Resolutions on the *Sinking Fund*, which were finally negatived. They occupied four whole columns in the *Morning Chronicle*. While the speech of Mr. Hume was going on, there were, the *Morning Chronicle* says, ten Members on the Ministerial side of the House, and nine on the other side ; making nineteen, and, including the Speaker, a single score, out of the thirty-three score and eight ! But, the *Chronicle's* Scotch blood ought not to rise at this : for, though we can plainly see that Mr. Hume had never read Letters IV, V, and VI, of Paper against Gold, the thirty-two score and eight Members might have read it : and, if they had, they must have been unable to refrain from laughing at Mr. Hume's speech.—Pray, reader take the following from Mr. Hume's speech.

"He [Mr. Hume] differed wholly from Mr. Pitt, and he would state the result of his inquiries upon the subject : it was this :—that no government could have a *Sinking Fund* ; that it was not consistent with the principles and powers of figures that any sum of money could be applied by a government as a *Sinking Fund* within itself ; by "*within itself*" he meant that no state like Great Britain, taking a portion of its revenues, and operating on its own resources, could create any accumulation, or an aggregate sum, with any beneficial consequences. In pecuniary transactions no advantage could accrue to one individual, but at the loss of another ; and if he considered the *Sinking Fund* as a portion of money taken from the general revenue to accumulate, whatever the sinking fund gained must be a loss to the public revenue. The Honourable Gentleman illustrated this point by putting it as his

own individual case. It was not in the power of figures, he contended, to show a gain of a single farthing by the Sinking Fund; on the contrary, all the expenses attendant upon it *were clear loss*, and the loss would be still greater if the purchases for it were not made upon equal terms, even with a surplus revenue."

Now read the above Letters in *Paper against Gold* (published first in 1811,) which, you will see, Mr. Hume *never could have read*; for, if he had read them he never could have put any part of this forth as his *own*, without being guilty of *plagiarism* grosser than ever yet covered with shame a convict in the Court of Criticism. But, what should the *other Members* sit there for, upon the hard benches, to see this operator pouring out of his phial what they had before seen in Mr. Cobbett's bottle?

SLAVE TRADE.—Being quite sure, that France, Spain and Portugal will, in spite of us, carry on the slave trade, as long as our *Debt* shall last, we should have taken not the smallest notice of an *address* and *resolutions* brought forward by Mr. Wilberforce, had he not happened to *compliment* the Government of the *United States of America*, by saying, that it had prohibited slavery altogether in the *extensive territory* of the Missouri; and he exhorted the House to follow the glorious example. Mr. Wilberforce is not a hypocrite and deceiver; but he is deceived by hypocrites. The Territory of the Missouri is, indeed, extensive, and the area of the Western Ocean is still more extensive, and has really a greater population of human beings than the Missouri Territory, which is, al-

most wholly, a wilderness. Then, again, this Territory is by no means calculated for a profitable system of Slavery. Let Mr. Wilberforce look, not only at Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, but at the New States of Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama; and there he will find slavery in its most odious form and deepest dye, and where, there are more people in one square mile than in the whole of that extensive territory of which he is talking. In short, the government of the United States maintains slavery in the utmost rigour over *two-thirds* of its territory with regard to population and value of products; it maintains it where it is profitable to the planters to maintain it; and it maintains it not where it would be unprofitable. Let us hear no more of the example of the United States' Government, then. And, before Mr. Wilberforce compliments that Government another time, let him be informed, that vessels are built at Baltimore for the express purpose of the slave trade, that they are openly fitted out and sailed from that port on that trade; and that, so *respectable* are the merchants that carry on that trade, that one of the Members of the Senate of the United States whose name is De Wolf, has been openly stated to be an owner of slave vessels in the public papers of the United States. Let Mr. Wilberforce then be cautious how he holds up the government of the United States as being, in this respect, an example for us to follow. We hate hypocrisy full as much as we hate the devil himself; the contrary of hypocrisy has always been the

characteristic of Englishmen; and we do not like to have the conduct of the Congress held forth as an example for us to follow with regard to negro slavery, or any slavery. We never can mention this matter without doing justice to the Midland and Eastern States, whose inhabitants hold this slavery in abomination as much as we do.

Friday, July 26.—There was nothing of importance, except the Superannuation Bill in the House of Commons, and with regard to which, we shall only remark in this place, that the Bill was read a third time, and passed the next day.

Monday, July 30.—IN THE LORDS.—The Irish Constables' Bill was read a third time and passed; and, after a debate of some length, and on which we shall not remark, having sufficiently noticed the question as it passed through the Commons, the *Alien Bill* was read a third time and passed.

IN THE COMMONS the Irish Stamp Duty Bill went through a Committee, and the Report on the Petition of the Calcutta Bankers was received and ordered to lie on the table.

The *Highbury Chapel Bill*, which seems to be a pretty affair enough, is, as far as we can gather, laid asleep for another six months, and we believe, that, if it ever awakes, it will awake in a great fright.

JULY 31, 1822.

THE BISHOP AND THE SOLDIER.
—We mean that no measure has been adopted with regard to this matter in either House of Parliament; and yet the House of

Commons is to adjourn to-day until Monday next, and will then be very speedily prorogued. Now, we recollect thousands of things brought before the House, without one thousandth part the reason for doing it that there was here. Questions have been asked of the Ministers, about the most trifling things in the world; about a letter the other day found upon a Quay at Dublin! about all sorts of things, in short; and yet, in this case, where there had been a legal examination before a Justice of the Peace; where the examination must have been in writing, and recorded; where bail had been entered into in so extraordinary a case; where the Bishop was at large and the Soldier committed for trial; where all this was so notorious, there is not only no *motion* for laying the examination or the bail-bond before the House; but there is no question asked of the Ministers what they mean to do with regard to the Bishopric! And the "*Queen's Friends*" do not ask whether the people are to continue to pray for the Bishop in that Liturgy in which Her Majesty's name was not suffered to be inserted. These "*Friends of the Queen*" have either very short memories or are soon brought to be cool. We should have thought that this was a fine occasion for paying off old scores a little. But, the "*Queen's Friends*" appear to be a very forgiving race.—We noticed yesterday the sort of demi-official paper in the *New Times*, which tells us that the Law-officers are to prosecute the Bishop and his partner the Soldier. Very well. We shall have a *trial*, then, of some sort or another? And we will endeavour

to take effectual means for making every creature in the kingdom as well acquainted with the whole matter as if the "Queen's friends" had started the subject in the House of Commons. It is not for us to say what would have been the case, if we had *never meddled with this matter*. We leave that for the public to say; but this we know very well, that, had it not been for us, this affair would not have been read of as it now will be throughout the United States of America by the last day of next month. The THING is walking amongst burning ploughshares; and this is the very hottest of the whole.

IN THE LORDS there was, last night nothing worthy of particular attention.

IN THE COMMONS, an observation was made by Colonel Trench that there were 360,000 persons in the county of Mayo alone, who were *receiving relief*. He said the distress was much abated, and would be still more abated by the *crop of potatoes*, which would fall in in a few weeks! But, how does the Colonel know that the famine will not come again when that shocking rubbish is all eaten up. Sir William de Crespigny was not *over friendly* to the system of poor-rates, but if nothing more effectual could be done, he hoped the poor-rates would be introduced. The worthy Baronet *cannot* be over friendly to the poor-rates; and we assure him that either poor-rates or utter confusion must be introduced into Ireland. It is a strange thing to hear Colonel Trench (who is an *expert* in the Irish news) now confessing that

this washy mixture of earth and water is one of the great causes of the distress! It is curious to hear Colonel Trench sighing for the Potatoes when it is so notorious, that Ireland abounds in *corn* and meat, which she is sending in prodigious quantities to many parts of the world, and particularly to this country, and when we have recently proved to the satisfaction of every body, except, perhaps, Irish landlords, that the "*Potatoo Traps*" of that country are perfectly capable of receiving and grinding the best of bread, beef, and bacon. What would you think of a man, who had bacon upon his rack and bread in his pantry, and who, with meagre looks and fainting voice, were to tell you that he trusted he should be relieved by a parcel of roots growing in his garden, the very water, from the boiling of which roots is sufficiently strong and "*nutritious*" to kill the insects that make what is called the *cotton blight* upon apple-trees; or cure a dog of the mange when the animal is in the last stage of that tormenting disease? What would you think of such a man? Would you not say to him, "why, blood-and-oons, Pat; pull out your knife, and lay on upon the bacon and beef!" In short, there is something at once so ridiculous and so shocking in the present state of Ireland, that one can hardly speak of it with any degree of sobriety.—The *Poor-Rates* form the only remedy; but, to hope that that remedy will be adopted would not be to show that we have profited much from experience.

SOUTH AMERICAN PIRATES. — Mr. Marryatt brought in a Peti-

tion from the ship-owners and merchants of the city of London; and out of it arose a long story about the acts of violence committed upon our ships by the people of South America. Mr. Bright on the part of his constituents of Bristol, praised the American Government for sending ships of war to put down the Buccaneers, as he called them. Lord Castlereagh gave a side-winded stroke at Lord Cochrane, and said, that he did not understand the law of nations as this country understood them. He took occasion to say, that this nation was the *greatest naval power*, and we take the liberty to tell him that he will not have to say that long, unless the National Debt be diminished, and that cannot be without a Reform of the Parliament. — The South Americans and Lord Cochrane laugh at ship-owners and merchants who have the folly to call for warlike measures, with a peace establishment of sixty millions a-year, or the greater folly to expect that their greedy ideas about trade are to be forced upon the world by any thing short of powder and ball.

AUGUST 1, 1822.

LAST night there was merely the passing of Bills in the House of Lords.

In the COMMONS, Sir William De Crespigny complained of a misrepresentation (in the *Old Times*, we believe) of his speech with regard to the conduct of the Irish gentlemen towards their distressed countrymen. He said that he had never imputed a want of

feeling to them; that he thought their conduct honourable and humane. As Sir William thought this, he was very right in saying it; and we most heartily wish, (merely for this purpose) that we were in the same House with Sir William, and then we would, in the plainest manner in the world, tell the Irish landlords and parsons what we think of their conduct; as it is, we shall merely say that we will find an opportunity by some means or other, of applying a little blunt remark to this matter, with regard to which the parties seem so very touchy. A little of our caustic; a little double refined sugar upon the *proud flesh*; this would make them dance and caper about; but they would be the better for it afterwards. The *John Bull* (when his *machinery* had met with no *accident*) put some tightish questions upon the subject of the Opera subscription. We have not seen that those questions have been answered yet; and we should like very much to see them answered.

QUEEN'S DEBTS. — Dr. Lushington made a long speech, in which he stated that the creditors of the Queen would not receive more than seven shillings in the pound. This is a very mysterious affair; and we think that the Chancellor of the Exchequer clearly showed that the nation had paid already plenty of money on this account. It is our real opinion that the Queen did not owe a farthing. The nation would not have grudged her any thing; for she did it more good, in our opinion, than all the Queens that ever existed before. She was an honour to the name

of Queen, and she was the glory of the nation, notwithstanding the *Bishops*, all but one (the Archbishop of York) voted for the Bill of Pains and Penalties against her; that is to say, all of them that were present. But the nation cannot bring the Queen to life; and as she never complained of being in debt; as it was one of her excellent traits not to be in debt; the nation will be difficult to be made believe that it is proper that it should now be called upon to pay an immense sum of money, to discharge what are called the debts of the Queen. We differ in opinion, and very decidedly, too, with Dr. Lushington, on another point: that "all good men wished to see buried in oblivion the transactions of the past." The Doctor means, we suppose, all the good men belonging to what Sir Francis Burdett used to call the *regiment*. All men in doors! But as to the good men out of doors, so far are they from wishing to see the past buried in oblivion, that they are extremely surprised, not to say shocked, to see the Queen's "*friends*" silent upon an occasion when the proceedings against her might have been so happily contrasted with that extreme delicacy; that astonishing forbearance, which have been shown with regard to the *Bishop*. *Oblivion*, indeed! And what do such people want more than oblivion? But, we shall return to this subject another time; and we shall let these Queen's "*friends*" be given clearly to understand that silence in some cases is no more to be defended than false accusations in other

LEAVE-TAKING. — A sort of leave-taking speech was made by Mr. Bennet and also by Mr. Hume. The former applauded the House for having taken off a certain quantity of taxes: the latter said, that the country had to thank the Ministers and the House. We differ from both these gentlemen; we ascribe that which has been done in the taking off of taxes to the demands of the *people*; to their petitions; and especially to the petitions from Surrey, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Worcestershire, Hertfordshire, and Devonshire; and these petitions we have the unconscionable vanity, presumption, arrogance, audacity, and impudence to ascribe (in some part, at any rate) to those two diligent, active, stirring, and everlastingly travelling little persons, known by the name of the *Farmer's Friend* and the *Farmer's Wife's Friend*;—who are still travelling about on the good work, still showing the farmers how it is that the tax-gatherers make them *dismount*, and walk to market; still showing their wives how it is that the tax-gatherers strip off their white aprons, and make them put on brown ones; still showing them that six pennyworth of brown sugar per week! in the house of a farm of four hundred acres is the true sign of the "envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world!" Messrs. Hume and Bennet should not have forgotten this little brace of brothers, who have acted so great a part in producing the benefit in question.

On Monday next the Parliament is, we believe, to be prorogued. On Tuesday, therefore, we shall give it our *farewell*.

AUG. 3. 1822.

THE LORDS go on regularly in dispatching the Bills that are before them.

In *tother place* we forgot to notice, that on Wednesday night last, when the House adjourned until Monday, there were some *notices* given of things intended to be done *next Sessions*. Mr. Hume gave notice, that he should bring forward a proposition for changing the situation of the *Protestant Church in Ireland*; that is to say, for resuming its property, as he before stated, and for paying the clergy out of the *taxes*. We hope, that the latter will by no means be done. Real owners of livings ought, in some cases, to be compensated; but, as to the support of *any priests at all* out of the taxes, we wholly disapprove of it. The Church of Christ ought in our opinion, to be supported as it was in the time of the *Apostles*; namely, by voluntary contributions, or not at all.—But, Mr. Hume said, when this subject was before the House, that he by no means wished to take away any thing from the *present* possessors of livings and other Church Property. What, then, does he mean, that the thing shall be *three score years* in putting to rights? This, to be sure, is not nearly so bad as Lord John Russell's *mode of Reform*, which, to accomplish it, would take about *eight hundred years*; but three score years is much longer than we are disposed to wait for any thing *but our own death*.—We suspect, that the Irish landlords (and, indeed, the English landlords also) mean something *very different* from what is meant by

Mr. Hume. They certainly mean, that this species of *public property* should be transferred from the *Church to themselves*. But, this is not what we would wish to see. We would wish to see it applied to *public uses*; to the relieving of all *classes* of the people; for, to all *classes it belongs*. It is no more the property of the landholder, than it is the property of the shop-keeper; and therefore, the landlords will find no resource here, other than their *fair share* of the benefit. It is very clear, that the whole thing must speedily undergo a complete *revision and change*. The resources of the country have, by means of a paper-money system, been anticipated to such an extent, that it cannot go on without some *extraordinary effort* to relieve itself. Some of the classes who live on the taxes must give way; or there must be a transfer to them of the property of other classes. And even when that transfer shall have had its complete operation on the present race of proprietors, it must go on upon another race; and, so on, for ever, unless those who live on the taxes be made to *give way*. The clergy do not live on what are usually called taxes; but, they live on that which may, by Parliament, be applied to the *reduction of taxation*. That which they live on is *public property* as clearly as the taxes are; and, therefore, there can be no scruple as to the *legality* of the application. Besides, an *Act of Parliament* makes that law which was not law before; as in the case of the *Six Acts*, and in other cases too tedious to mention. We should be heartily glad to see this measure adopted. We are fully persuaded, that it would

tend greatly to promote the interests of *true religion*; and, we are very sure, that it would do more towards making the nation united than any other thing that could possibly be thought of. The *parsons*, who seem to have so decided a taste for Justice of Peace Work, would, then, have nothing to interfere with their study of the criminal law. Unencumbered with disputes about *tithes* and other such matters, they might devote the whole of their time and talents to the labours of the Bench. As things now are, the disputes with their "*flocks*" are really endless. We see, in one and the same newspaper, a Devonshire Tithe Proctor *suing* for the tithe of the *rakings* of the field; and the Reverend Beresford, Rector of the enormous parish of St. Andrew, Holborn (according to public advertisement of the parishioners) applying to the Court of Exchequer to enforce the *2s. 9d.* in the pound on the *rack-rent* of all the real property in that parish! The measure of which we have been speaking would relieve the "spiritual persons" of all disputes and all cares of this kind; and it is a measure, which shall have our decided support; but, not if it be to be *three score years* in carrying into execution!

MILITARY FLOGGING. — A notice was given, in behalf of Sir Francis Burdett, that he would make a motion on this subject, during the *next session*. If we had been in his place, we would not have suffered the *Yorkshire Inquest* to remain unmoved for, even during this *Session*. The crime of the man was, it appears, *the same*, which was very manifestly committed against the

Officers of the Regiment, some of whom *must* have been the *triers* and *judges* and *sentencers* and *executors* in this case! — We think, that this is a matter, that we should not have suffered to *stand over*, without inquiry or motion, for *six months*!

Mr. BENNET observed, that he hoped, that, in future, all *party* distinctions would be dropped, and that *Reformer* and *Anti-Reformer* would be the only terms of distinction. We like this very well; but, we have no opinion of Lord John Russell's *Reform*, and we do not wish to see the people *deceived*. In short, there will be no Reform as long as *the interest of the Debt is paid in full*. Let Peel's Bill go into *full effect* in May next; even with the exception of the part that has been repealed, even with the help (whatever it may be) of the *Small Note Bill*; let Peel's Bill go into *full effect*, even with this exception, and we shall see what the *Boroughmen* are made of. The Reformers ought to have this constantly in their eye. They ought to petition for reduction of the interest of the Debt *and* for Reform; but, never for the former without *the latter*: on the contrary, if the former be attempted, or proposed, *without the latter*, they ought instantly to pour in petitions against such attempt or proposition. This is the advice that we have always given, and not the advice which a stupid bawler has ascribed to us; namely, to *petition against the reduction of the interest of the Debt in any and every case*. Reduction and Reform; but, no Reform, no Reduction: this has invariably been our advice.

AUGUST 7, 1822.

By the Speech, which appeared in yesterday's paper, it was seen, that the Parliament is, at last, PROROGUED.

Well, now, *thank God!* We do not know how it is: we cannot account for it: but, we always *feel gay* when a prorogation of this body, this Collective Wisdom, takes place. Our late cotemporary, *Mr. James Perry*, always used to be putting us out of humour on this subject. Whenever any thing material happened during the recess; any distress of manufactures or any mishap in war, he used to exclaim, "Parliament *not sitting* at a time like this!" "Where is *Parliament*; why do not Ministers *call Parliament together!*" This was certainly a sort of *malady* with Mr. Perry. We have been pretty well acquainted with this body for some twenty years now; and we should have no objection to declare upon oath, that we have always felt pleasure at its *going off*, and pain at its *coming on*. The *reasons* for this we shall not attempt to state; but, we verily believe, that our feelings, as to this matter, are in perfect unison with those of the public.

However, we are not reluctant to confess; we are, in the language of the *House*, "*free to confess*," that the last Session has afforded us a great deal of rational entertainment. We have been *amused* by it, and that is a positive good. The delightful scenes that have taken place are not to be described by a pen like ours, especially with *Six-Acts* before our eyes. The Act of December 1819, which subjects us

to *banishment for life* for writing, printing, or publishing, any thing having a TENDENCY to bring either of the Houses into CONTEMPT, is, of course, a great check upon the vagaries of our mind, as well as upon the movements of our readers' muscles. We bow with filial submission to the laws of our country, keep ourselves grave, and call upon our readers not to *laugh*, if they wish to spend the rest of their days in dear Old England.

With docile minds, therefore, and contrite hearts, "*ordering ourselves lowly and reverently towards all our betters*," we have listened to all the projects for relieving the nation from the scourge of *over-production*. We have read the Report of the *Agricultural Committee*; we have seen the *Small Note Bill*; we have read of the *Prosperity of Manufactures*; we have seen pushed forward, and then drawn back, the *Legal Tender Project*; drawn back as if some one were going to roast it on a *Gridiron*; we have witnessed all the movements about the *dead*, or *Waterloo*, charge; we have seen a *Sunset and Sunrise Bill* passed to preserve the *peace* amongst the Irish, who, by whole parishes, were receiving the *extreme unotion*: all these things, and fifty times as many, equal to them in every respect, have we heard and seen; and, if we have once *laughed*, may—but we will not *swear*; we leave that to the *Old Times*, when it shall again, in confirmation of the *puffs*, which its in-door friends bestow on it, condescend to *publish its numbers* on oath, in proof of the *increase* of those numbers.

But, though we have not dared to *laugh*, we have, we must say, enjoyed ourselves, whenever the Bill of Peel has been on foot. The *thousands* of ideas about getting rid of that Bill have not failed to make our lives pleasant. This has been to us a constant source of delight. To see this giant measure attacked by so many *pigmies* and in such various ways! It stands like a rock amidst the waves. Nothing can move it; and it dashes all to pieces that comes against it. It must be *removed*, whole and entire, or must remain, a monument of that Collective Wisdom, which produced it by one great *unanimous* effort.

There are persons hardy enough to say, that it is now merely left *on trial*; and that, when Parliament meet again, unless things *mend* during the recess, it is to be *touched*. Mend! How can things go on *better* than they do? Provisions of all sorts promise to be *cheaper* than they were ever known before. Better in quality too. The *South Down Lambs* are selling this year at the Sussex fairs (best lambs in England) at from *seven to twelve* shillings a head! These are called *lambs*; but they are about nine months old, weigh, perhaps *five stone* each (8lb. to the stone,) and have a skin worth eighteenpence. These are good old prices; and

they indicate the approach of a good state of things; a state of things for which we shall, in great part, have to thank Mr. Peel's Bill.

To leave such a measure *upon trial* indeed! We trust that no hand will ever be daring enough to touch it: it is the ark of our covenant; and *stern-path* men will, we trust, "*die in the last ditch*," rather than give up a fraction of it. Yet, we must confess (*free to confess*), that we were not quite at our ease on account of this Bill as long as the Wisdom remained *collected*! Happily his Majesty has been graciously pleased to *disperse* it, and the blessed Bill is safe.

The *next Session* will be a *trimmer*! It will see many brought to their *moorings*, who, until now have shown some sail. The rent-day of Michaelmas will pass, and the landlords, without the aid of accountants, will be able to settle the rent-roll. Thousands who have never dreamed of such a matter, will be able to give us a dissertation on the nature of landed proprietorship, and will have learnt, that, of the produce of a farm, the *last*, and not the *first*, part belongs to him who calls himself the *landlord*. The last Session showed that many of them had obtained a glimpse of this sort of learning: the next will show them to be *learned*.

THE END.

LIST

Of the Acts passed in the Parliament, in the Session which began on the 5th of February and ended on the 6th of August 1822, being the Third Session of the Seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and held in the Third Year of the Reign of George the Fourth.

I. An Act to suppress Insurrections and prevent Disturbance of the Public Peace in *Ireland*, until the First Day of *August* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. [Passed 11 Feb.]

[This Act dispenses with Trial by Jury, for the purposes and during the time specified, and the summary judicial proceedings substituted are these: Power is given to any two Justices to summon an Extraordinary Session; this is to consist of not less than seven Justices, if for a county at large, or of three, if for a county of a town or city (as the district which is disturbed may happen to be) being resident within the district wherein they are summoned; and this Session is to signify to the Lord Lieutenant if the county (or district) be disturbed. Upon this representation the Lord Lieutenant is to issue a Proclamation of the state of disturbance, by which the inhabitants are warned to remain within their houses from sunset to sunrise, and, likewise, a Special Sessions of the Peace is appointed, for this district. The Special Sessions is to consist of the Justices of the Peace, and a King's Sergeant or Counsel is appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to preside at it; the intermediate proceeding, between commitment and trial, of a Grand Jury to find a bill is dispensed with, and the empannelling of a petty jury to find the verdict is at the discretion of the Justices; the case may be tried by the Justices and President alone, whose decision is final; if the President differ with the majority of the Justices, the case awaits the decision of the Lord Lieutenant to whom it is reported by the President of the Court, &c. The Court being thus constituted, its cognizance is limited to persons or acts alleged to be *idle and disorderly*, and its power, to punishment by transportation for

seven years. The idle and disorderly Acts are thus specified: that if any person *who shall be found*, after the Proclamation and within the disturbed district, *out of his or her dwelling at any time from one hour after sunset until sunrise*; that of *not being found in the dwelling*, at any time between those hours, on the search of a Justice or other person authorized by his warrant, which search is to be made by force when admission is refused; that of administering or taking oaths for seditious purposes, or not giving information of the same; that of circulating notices to excite riots or unlawful meetings, or demanding money, arms, &c.; that of having any arms or offensive weapons whatever in possession, after having been called upon to deliver them up, the person having knowledge of the possession; that of being in a public-house, unless an inmate thereof or a traveller, between nine o'clock at night and six in the morning; that of being unlawfully or tumultuously assembled in the day-time.—These are the idle and disorderly Acts, upon conviction for which this Court is empowered to transport for seven years. There is another idle and disorderly Act specified, which is of hawking seditious pamphlets, and the punishment for this is limited to 12 months' imprisonment in the county gaol.—By this Act it would appear that trial by jury were considered incompatible with its objects; all cognizance of cases which by it the Special Sessions is constituted to try, is removed from the general Court of Oyer and Terminer; as the Act provides that when a Justice takes an information of any crime cited herein, he is to return it to the Clerk of the Peace; to be by him immediately laid before the Special Sessions.—Power is given to any two Justices to call on all persons whose arms are registered, to deliver up those arms out of their possession during the existence of the Proclamation, on receiving a receipt for the delivery. Those only are exempt from this call who serve in the regular militia.—The other material provisions in the Act are in anticipation of suits at law against persons for conduct in execution of this Act. The time for bringing an action is limited to six months; in all such cases where the plaintiff shall become nonsuit, suffer a discontinuance, or verdict of judgment or damages to pass against him; or where the verdict is consequence shall be for the defendant; and upon the Judge certifying on the record that the action was brought for conduct in execution of this Act, or the defendant making a suggestion to this effect on the record, then the defendant is entitled to *treble costs*. The plaintiff may traverse this suggestion, but if the issue be again for the defendant, he is entitled to *treble costs* likewise on the suggestion and the proceedings thereon; on the other hand, if the issue be for the plaintiff, his costs for the suggestion are to be set off against the costs thereon to be adjudged to the defendant. A further

guarantee in the execution of this Act is, that in case of a verdict for the plaintiff, if the judge certify that it is for conduct in pursuance of such Act, the plaintiff is entitled to only *6d.* damages, and to no costs. Though IF the Judge certify that the injury had been wilfully committed, then the plaintiff is entitled to his treble costs.—The expenses incident to the Special Sessions are to be paid in advance out of the consolidated fund, and raised at the subsequent Assizes by presentation of the Grand Jury, from the disturbed district.—This Act is still in force, being renewed previous to the 1st August, time of its expiration.]

II. An Act to empower the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of *Ireland*, to apprehend and detain, until the First Day of August One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, such Persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against His Majesty's Person and Government. [11 Feb.]

[This is not only a repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, as it affects persons already in prison, but subjects the person of every individual to the absolute disposal of the Government, during the time specified.]

III. An Act for indemnifying such Persons as have seized or detained any Arms or Gunpowder in *Ireland*, since the First Day of November One thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, for the Preservation of the Public Peace. [11 March.]

[The provisions are of complete indemnity from legal consequences to any acts growing out of seizure of arms or gunpowder, by officers civil or military or any persons whatever. In cases where prosecutions criminal or civil are sustained, and the verdict be for the defendant, he is entitled to double costs. But defendants may apply to Courts or the Judges of Courts, not sitting, and, on producing proof that the case comes within this Act, these are required to stay and annul all further proceedings, and to order double costs for the proceedings already carried on in defence of such prosecution. But there are ten days allowed from the time that the Court shall first sit after making such order, for the prosecutor to make an application against the order, in which case the Court is to reverse it or not, as it sees proper.]

IV. An Act to regulate the Importation of Arms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition into *Ireland*, and the making, removing, selling, and keeping of Arms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition in *Ireland*, for Seven Years, and from thence until the End of the then next Session of Parliament. [11 March.]

V. An Act to repeal so much of an Act made in the Fifty-fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty, for taking an Account of the Population of *Ireland*, as relates to certain Expenses to be incurred under the said Act. [11 March.]

- VI. An Act for continuing to His Majesty certain Duties on Sugar, Tobacco and Snuff, Foreign Spirits, and Sweets, in *Great Britain*; and on Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates in *England*; and for receiving the Contributions of Persons receiving Pensions and holding Offices; for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. [11 March.]
- VII. An Act for applying certain Monies therein mentioned for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. [11 March.]
- VIII. An Act for raising the Sum of Twenty Millions by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. [11 March.]
- IX. An Act for transferring several Annuities of Five Pounds *per Centum per Annum* into Annuities of Four Pounds *per Centum per Annum*. [15 March.]
- [Though this Act contains 17 clauses, and some of them unusually long, there is not to be found in it so concise a proposition as it requires to express a reduction of 16 shillings in every 5 pounds of interest; which it effects by discontinuing to a holder of 100*l.* Navy 5 per cents. his claim, and giving him in lieu of it 105*l.* of what is called "The New Four per Centum Annuities." This is an Act, therefore, for reducing the interest of a part of the Debt, at least.]
- X. An Act to enable, in certain Cases, the Opening and Reading of Commissions under which the Judges sit upon the Circuits, after the Day appointed for holding Assizes. [15 March.]
- XI. An Act for the regulating of His Majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on Shore. [21 March.]
- XII. An Act to indemnify such Persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments, and for extending the Time limited for those Purposes respectively, until the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three; and to permit such Persons in *Great Britain* as have omitted to make and file Affidavits of the Execution of Indentures of Clerks to Attornies and Solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the last Day of *Trinity* Term One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, and to allow Persons to make and file such Affidavits, although the Persons whom they served shall have neglected to take out their Annual Certificates. [21 March.]
- XIII. An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion; and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters. [21 March.]
- XIV. An Act for rectifying Mistakes in the Names of the Land Tax Commissioners; and for appointing additional Commissioners, and indemnifying such Persons as have acted without due Authority in Execution of the Acts therein recited. [21 March.]
- XV. An Act for further continuing, until the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, an Act of the Fifty-eighth Year of His late Majesty, for preventing Aliens from becoming naturalized, or being made or becoming Denizens, except in certain Cases. [21 March.]

XVI. An Act to amend an Act, made in the last Session of Parliament, for amending the several Acts for the Regulation of Attornies and Solicitors. [3 April.]

XVII. An Act for converting Annuities and Debentures of Five Pounds *per Centum per Annum*, payable at the Bank of *Ireland*, into new Annuities of Four Pounds *per Centum per Annum*. [3 April.]

XVIII. An Act to repeal the Excise Duty on Malt charged by an Act made in the Second Year of His present Majesty, to allow the said Duty on Malt in Stock, and to make Regulations for better securing the Duties on Malt. [3 April.]

[The tax of 1 shilling a bushel is taken off, which was laid on with duties on other articles in 1819 and continued by another Act in 1820.]

XIX. An Act to enable Two or more of the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain and Ireland*, when the Number of such Commissioners is less than Six, to do certain Acts heretofore done by Three or more of the same Commissioners. [3 April.]

XX. An Act for fixing the Rates of Subsistence to be paid to Innkeepers and others on quartering Soldiers. [15 May.]

XXI. An Act to amend an Act passed in the Fifty-eighth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Third, for establishing Fever Hospitals, and for making other Regulations for Relief of the suffering Poor, and for preventing the Increase of infectious Fevers in *Ireland*. [15 May.]

XXII. An Act to amend an Act, passed in the First Year of His present Majesty's Reign, for the Assistance of Trade and Manufactures in *Ireland*, by authorizing the Advance of certain Sums for the Support of Commercial Credit there. [15 May.]

[This former Act is hereby amended in the particular which fixes the time of repayment of the loans made by its authority. These loans it is herein stated amount to 162,148*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* and the time allowed by the first Act for repayment expired on the 11th July 1822. The Commissioners are to use their discretion in the securities they take; the repayment is now to proceed by instalments of one-eighth, to be paid yearly on the 11th July; so that the final payment is procrastinated, or *restricted*, if we may so call it, eight years. The loans are to bear 6 per cent. interest to the specific purpose of these loans, it is the support of commercial credit, which appears left to the discretion of the Commissioners. This Act states the commercial distress to have been considerably lightened by means of the first, but that it still stands in need of the provisions of this Act. How the sum of 162,148*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* being at the disposal of Commissioners appointed by the Government, is calculated to affect the distressed state of *Ireland* is not for us to say.]

XXIII. An Act to facilitate Summary Proceedings before Justices of the Peace and others. [15 May.]

- XXIV. An Act for extending the Laws against Receivers of Stolen Goods to Receivers of Stolen Bonds, Bank Notes, and other Securities for Money. [15 May.]
- XXV. An Act to continue, until the Twenty-fifth Day of January One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, an Act of the Twenty-third Year of His late Majesty, for the more effectual Encouragement of the Manufacture of Flax and Cotton in *Great Britain*; and to amend the Law in respect of the Allowances of Excise Duties on Starch and Soap used in certain Manufactures. [15 May.]
- XXVI. An Act to reduce the Rate of Interest payable on the Sum of One million two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, advanced by the Governor and Company of the Bank of *Ireland* for the Public Service, under an Act made in the Forty-eighth Year of His late Majesty. [15 May.]
- XXVII. An Act to amend and continue, until the Fifth Day of July One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, so much of an Act made in the Fifty-fifth Year of His late Majesty, as relates to additional Duties of Excise, in *Great Britain*, on Excise Licences. [15 May.]
- XXVIII. An Act to continue, so long as the Bounties now payable on *Irish* Linens when exported from *Ireland* shall continue, the Bounties on *British* and *Irish* Linen exported. [15 May.]
- XXIX. An Act to continue, until the Twenty-fifth Day of January One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and from thence to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, an Act made in the Fifty-fourth Year of His late Majesty, for rendering the Payment of Creditors more equal and expeditious in *Scotland*. [15 May.]
- XXX. An Act for reducing, during the Continuance of the present Duty on Malt, the Duty on Malt made from Bear of Bigg only, in *Scotland*. [15 May.]
- XXXI. An Act to grant Countervailing Duties, and to allow equivalent Drawbacks on Malt, Beer, and Spirits imported and exported between *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. [15 May.]
- XXXII. An Act for repealing the Duties on plain Silk Net or Tulle, and for granting new Duties in lieu thereof. [14 May.]
- XXXIII. An Act for altering and amending several Acts passed in the First and Ninth Years of the Reign of King *George* the First, and in the Forty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-sixth, and Fifty-seventh Years of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Third, so far as the same relate to the Recovery of Damages committed by riotous and tumultuous Assemblies and unlawful and malicious Offenders. [15 May.]

[This is a most salutary Act, and passed not before it was found necessary. We will venture to say that had this Act been in force previous to the universal and just rejoicings in consequence of the acquittal of the late lamented Queen, it would have been very fortunate for some of the Hundreds in Surrey. As the law stood, upon almost any trifling damage sustained by an individual in consequence of popular proceedings, the individual might sue the hundred or the district, as it might happen, wherein the riot, as the proceeding would be called, took place;

but this Act requires that the damage amount to 30 pounds, so that the mere breaking of a few squares of glass, belonging to a person who refuses to light his windows in compliance with the wish of the people, and which refusal is more often the effect of perverseness than of principle, does not entitle him to saddle the hundred with law-expenses to twenty or fifty times the amount.]

XXXIV. An Act for the Employment of the Poor in certain Districts in *Ireland*. [24 May.]

[The preamble to this Act is "Whereas the advancing of money for the carrying on of public works may at this time afford the most effectual means of relieving and employing the poor in certain districts in *Ireland*;" and for this purpose the Lord Lieutenant is, in the first place, to advance the sums that are presented by Grand Juries for public works, and, further, to advance 50,000*l.* for works as he may think proper, and which shall afterwards be reported to the Grand Juries of the respective counties, for their presentment. If this were giving money to the counties of *Ireland* it would be a different thing; but the salutary effect of these advances does not appear unquestionable by the Act itself, which merely prefaces that they "*may*" afford relief.]

XXXV. An Act to make perpetual, and to amend, several Acts made in the Thirty-eighth, Fortieth, and Fiftieth Years of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Third, for the Management, Support, Regulation, and Maintenance of the Foundling Hospital in *Dublin*; and to make further Provision for the Regulation and Maintenance of the said Hospital. [24 May.]

XXXVI. An Act to reduce the Duty of Excise on Malt made in *Ireland*, and certain Drawbacks in respect thereof. [24 June.]

XXXVII. An Act to extend the Powers of the Commissioners appointed by an Act, passed in the last Session of Parliament, for inquiring into the Collection and Management of the Revenue in *Ireland*. [24 June.]

XXXVIII. An Act for the further and more adequate Punishment of Persons convicted of Manslaughter, and of Servants convicted of robbing their Masters, and of Accessories before the Fact to Grand Larceny, and certain other Felonies. [24 June.]

XXXIX. An Act for preventing Frauds upon Creditors, by secret Warrants of Attorney to confess Judgment. [24 June.]

XL. An Act for consolidating into One Act and amending the Laws relating to idle and disorderly Persons, Rogues and Vagabonds, incorrigible Rogues, and other Vagrants, in *England*. [24 June.]

XLI. An Act to repeal divers ancient Statutes and Parts of Statutes, so far as they relate to the Importation and Exportation of Goods and Merchandize from and to Foreign Countries. [24 June.]

XLII. An Act to repeal certain Acts, and Parts of Acts, relating to the Importation of Goods and Merchandize. [24 June.]

XLIII. An Act for the Encouragement of Navigation and Commerce, by regulating the Importation of Goods and Merchandize, so far as relates to the Countries or Places from whence, and the Ships in which such Importation shall be made. [24 June.]

XLIV. An Act to regulate the Trade between His Majesty's Possessions in *America* and the *West Indies* and other Places in *America* and the *West Indies*. [24 June.]

XLV. An Act to regulate the Trade between His Majesty's Possessions in *America* and the *West Indies* and other Parts of the World. [24 June.]

XLVI. An Act for the more speedy Return and Levying of Fines, Penalties, and Forfeitures, and Recognizances estreated. [24 June.]

XLVII. An Act to repeal an Act of His present Majesty, for explaining an Act made in the Twelfth Year of Queen *Anne*, to reduce the Rate of Interest without Prejudice to Parliamentary Securities, and to substitute other Provisions in lieu thereof. [24 June.]

XLVIII. An Act to repeal certain Tonnage Duties of Customs on Ships or Vessels. [1 July.]

XLIX. An Act concerning the Residence of Sheriffs Depute of the Counties of *Edinburgh* and *Lanark*. [1 July.]

L. An Act to extend the Period allowed to Persons compounding for their Assessed Taxes, and to give further Relief in certain Cases therein mentioned. [1 July.]

LI. An Act for apportioning the Burthen occasioned by the Military and Naval Pensions and Civil Superannuations, by vesting an equal Annuity in Trustees for the Payment thereof. [1 July.]

[This is the *Dead Weight Bill*. For a particular account of this Bill, we refer our readers to the different commentaries made on it, which will be found by means of the Index.]

LII. An Act to grant certain Duties, in *Scotland*, upon Wash and Spirits made from Corn or Grain, and upon Licences for making and keeping of Stills; and to regulate the Distillation of such Spirits for Home Consumption; and for better preventing private Distillation in *Scotland*, until the Tenth Day of *November* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-four. [5 July.]

LIII. An Act to regulate the Manufacture and Sale of scorched or roasted Corn, Peas, Beans, or Parsnips, and of Cocoa Paste, Broma, and other Mixtures of Cocoa. [5 July.]

[The important part of this Act relates to *roasted corn*. Henceforth nobody is to sell it without a licence to cost 2s. 6d. and to be taken out annually. The seller is to mark on the parcel or bag containing the article what it is, whether corn, peas, &c. calling it by its real name; and is not to give it one hatched by any fantastic or imposing design of his own. This provision can be no injury to an honest man, but, on the contrary a protection against unfair rivalry; it is, however, for this purpose, rendered completely unnecessary, by another provision, most salutary to the public, and which is, that the corn is to be *whole*, and in nowise ground,

pounded or crushed. This provision is quite effectual, as it will be impossible for a quack to introduce any thing injurious or inferior together with rye or wheat, in the first place; or, by the grinding these simple ingredients, to impose so far on credulity as to make them pass for a compound, and thereupon put forth pretensions to what is really an exorbitant price. The penalty for not taking out the licence is 50*l.* and on selling under a false name or grinding the article the same, together with seizure of goods.]

LIV. An Act to repeal the Rates, Duties, and Taxes payable in respect of Fire Hearths and Windows in *Ireland*; and to exempt certain Persons from the Tax on Dogs. [5 July.]

LV. An Act for the more effectual Administration of the Office of a Justice of the Peace in and near the Metropolis, and for the more effectual Prevention of Depredations on the River *Thames* and its Vicinity, for Seven Years. [5 July.]

LVI. An Act to provide for the more effectual Regulation of certain Offices relating to the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer in *Ireland*. [5 July.]

LVII. An Act for transferring such of the Duties of the Commissioners or Governors of *Kilmainham* Hospital, as relate to the Management and Payment of Out-Pensions, to the Commissioners of *Chelsea* Hospital. [5 July.]

LVIII. An Act for enabling the Commissioners of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues to effect Improvements in the Neighbourhood of *Parliament Street* and *Privy Garden*, within the Liberty of *Westminster*. [5 July.]

LIX. An Act to continue, until the Fifth Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, the Low Duties on Coals and Culin carried Coastwise to any Port within the Principality of *Wales*. [5 July.]

LX. An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Importation of Corn. [15 July.]

[In addition to the commentaries on this Act, we here add the scale of duties it contains. To Wit: When wheat is under 80*s.* per quarter, the high duty is 12*s.* and an additional duty for the first three months, 5*s.*; rye, peas and beans under 53*s.* the same duties 8*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.*; barley under 40*s.* the duties 6*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*; oats under 28*s.* duties 4*s.* and 2*s.* When wheat is between 80*s.* and 85*s.* a duty of 5*s.* and the same in addition for three months; rye, peas and beans between 53*s.* and 56*s.* same duties 3*s.* 6*d.* each; barley between 40*s.* and 42*s.* 6*d.* same duties each 2*s.* 6*d.*; oats between 28*s.* and 30*s.* duties each 2*s.*—When wheat is above 85*s.* a duty of 1*s.*; rye, peas and beans above 55*s.* duty 8*d.*; barley 42*s.* 6*d.* duty 6*d.*; oats above 30*s.* duty 4*d.*—The duties on wheat-meal and flour are, when wheat is at 80*s.* per quarter, 3*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. and in addi-

tion for first three months, 1s. 7d.; when wheat is between 80s. and 85s. same duties each of 1s. 7d.; when wheat is above 85s. the duty 4d. per cwt.—The duties on oatmeal when oats are respectively at the three various prices abovementioned; first, 4s. 10d. per boll, and 2s. 2d. in addition for three months; second, both duties are 2s. 2d. each; third, the whole duty 6d.—The scale of difference in favour of the colonies in North America is 67s. to 80s.; before the duty incidental to wheat at 80s. brought from any other country can be laid on wheat brought from Canada, the price must be 67s. and the scale is the same throughout.—Malt of all kinds, and barley, rye, beans or pease, or Indian corn ground, are prohibited.]

LXI. An Act to regulate the Performance of certain Contracts, and to authorize the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer to make Orders in Cases which may arise out of the Conversion of certain Annuities of Five Pounds *per Centum per Annum* into Annuities of Four Pounds *per Centum per Annum*; and for paying off such Proprietors of Five Pounds *per Centum* Annuities as shall dissent from receiving Four Pounds *per Centum* Annuities in lieu thereof. [15 July.]

LXII. An Act for regulating the Fees chargeable in His Majesty's General Register House at *Edinburgh*, and for completing the Buildings necessary for keeping the Public Records of *Scotland* therein. [15 July.]

LXIII. An Act to authorize the Sale of Quit Rents and other Rents, and the Sale and Demise of Lands, Tithes, Tenements, and Hereditaments, the Property of His Majesty in Right of the Crown, in *Ireland*. [15 July.]

LXIV. An Act to amend the Laws relating to Prisons in *Ireland*. [22 July.]

LXV. An Act to continue, until the Fifth Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, an Act of the Fifty-ninth Year of His late Majesty, for rendering the growing Produce of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, arising in *Great Britain*, available for the Public Service. [22 July.]

● LXVI. An Act for authorizing the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to discharge the Exchequer Bills issued to pay the Proprietors of Five Pounds *per Centum* Annuities, who dissented from receiving Four Pounds *per Centum* Annuities in lieu thereof. [22 July.]

LXVII. An Act to repeal so much of the Excise Licences Act of the present Session as regards the carrying on of Trade in more than One Place. [22 July.]

LXVIII. An Act to provide for the Charge of the Addition to the Public Funded Debt of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, for defraying the Expense of Military and Naval Pensions and Civil Superannuations. [22 July.]

LXIX. An Act to enable the Judges of the several Courts of Record at *Westminster*, to make Regulations respecting the Fees of the Officers, Clerks, and Ministers of the said Courts. [22 July.]

LXX. An Act to continue, until the Fifth Day of *January* One thousand

eight hundred and thirty-three, an Act of the Thirty-seventh Year of His late Majesty, for suspending the Operation of an Act of the Seventeenth Year of His late Majesty, for restraining the Negotiation of Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange, under a limited Sum, in England. [22 July.]

[This Act enables all banks, Bank of England as well as the rest, to continue to issue notes for any sum between five pounds and twenty shillings, until the first of January 1833. The law as it stood before this Act passed would have put an end to the making of such notes on the first of May 1825; but this Act continues it till 1833. This is in part, therefore, a repeal of Mr. Peel's Bill; because that Bill would have put an end to the small notes by the Bank of England next May. By referring to the observations upon the discussions on this Bill, it will be seen that it was at first intended to introduce into it a clause to continue, also, the law of legal-tender after the 1st of May next, and until 1833. That would have been a complete repeal of Mr. Peel's Bill. The clause, however, was at last omitted; and the Act, as it now stands, will do little or nothing towards effecting the object for which it was manifestly intended.]

LXXI. An Act to prevent the cruel and improper Treatment of Cattle. [22 July.]

[This Act was brought in by Mr. Martin of Galway. He comes from that country which is exposed to the Irish Insurrection Act, and he has been working to get this Bill passed during the Session in which that Insurrection Act has been passed, and in which proofs have been given of the literal starvation of the people subject to it. He cannot, therefore, be said to have forgot the brute creation, even in the hour most critical to the human species. Philosophy he has undeniably shown; but there are sorts of philosophy, and as that of this worthy gentleman has been exerted in favour of the beasts of the field, let us acknowledge him the Brute Philosopher.—The penalties are from 10s. to 5l. for each offence, and the offender to be confined not more than three months in the House of Correction in default of payment.]

LXXII. An Act to amend and render more effectual Two Acts, passed in the Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth Years of His late Majesty, for building and promoting the building of additional Churches in populous Parishes. [22 July.]

LXXIII. An Act for raising a Loan of Seven millions five hundred thousand Pounds from the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt. [22 July.]

LXXIV. An Act to amend the Laws relating to Bankrupts under Joint Commissions. [23 July.]

LXXV. An Act to amend certain Provisions of the Twenty-sixth of

George the Second, for the better preventing of Clandestine Marriages.
[22 July.]

[This Act has received such an ample commentary from the indescribable confusion that it has produced in the country, and is become a matter of such perfect notoriety that it is unnecessary to attempt an explanation of it here even if explanation were possible.]

LXXVI. An Act to amend an Act of the last Session of Parliament, for allowing to Distillers for Home Consumption in *Scotland* a Drawback of a Portion of the Duty on Malt used by them. [22 July.]

LXXVII. An Act for amending the Laws for regulating the Manner of licensing Alehouses in that Part of the United Kingdom called *England*, and for the more effectually preventing Disorders therein. [26 July.]

[When this Act was first introduced, Mr. Bennet, the author of it, proposed to take the discretionary power out of the hands of the Justices of the Peace. The Act does not do this, and therefore it does, in our opinion, no good at all.]

LXXVIII. An Act to enable His Majesty to make Leases, Copies and Grants of Offices, Lands and Hereditaments, Parcel of the Duchy of *Cornwall*, or annexed to the same. [26 July.]

[This Act is to enable the King to grant leases and grants of land and hereditaments in the Duchy of Cornwall. It sets out by saying that *doubts may arise*, with relation to his right of making such leases and grants. The Act, then, enables him to do these things, the warrants being signed by three or more of the Commissioners of the Treasury. This appears to us to be an Act that ought to be duly considered, even yet; for this is not private property of the king; but makes a part of that which is attached indissolubly to the Crown; and of course a part of what might be applied to the support of its dignity, and thereby relieve the country from a part of its taxes.]

LXXIX. An Act to amend an Act of the Fifty-third Year of the Reign of His late Majesty, for the Appointment of Commissioners for the Regulation of the several endowed Schools in *Ireland*. [26 July.]

LXXX. An Act to continue, until the First Day of *August* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, an Act made in this present Session of Parliament, for suppressing Insurrections and preventing Disturbances of the Public Peace in *Ireland*. [26 July.]

LXXXI. An Act to amend the Laws relating to Bankrupts. [26 July.]

LXXXII. An Act for reducing the Duties of Excise payable upon Salt in *England*, and repealing the Duties upon Salt (not being Foreign Salt), and reducing the Duties upon Foreign Salt payable in *Scotland*. [26 July.]

[This Act reduces the duty on salt to 2s. a bushel. The Act is to commence on the 5th January next.]

- LXXXIII. An Act to repeal the additional Duties and Drawbacks on Leather, granted and allowed by Two Acts of His late Majesty, and to grant other Drawbacks in lieu thereof, and to secure the Duties on Leather. [26 July.]
- LXXXIV. An Act to authorize certain temporary Advances of Money, for the Relief of the Distresses existing in *Ireland*. [26 July.]
- LXXXV. An Act to allow peremptory Challenge of Jurors in Criminal Trials in *Scotland*. [26 July.]
- LXXXVI. An Act to amend Two Acts of the Fifty-seventh Year of His late Majesty, and the First Year of His present Majesty, for authorizing the Issue of Exchequer Bills, and the Advance of Money for carrying on Public Works and Fisheries, and Employment of the Poor; and to authorize a further Issue of Exchequer Bills for the Purposes of the said Acts. [26 July.]
- LXXXVII. An Act to enable His Majesty's Court of Exchequer to sit, and the Lord Chief Baron or any other Baron of the said Court to try *Middlesex* Issues, elsewhere than in the Place where the Court of Exchequer is commonly kept in the County of *Middlesex*. [26 July.]
- LXXXVIII. An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Land and Assessed Taxes, and to regulate the Appointment of Receivers General in *England* and *Wales*. [29 July.]
- LXXXIX. An Act to provide for the Charge of the Addition to the Public Funded Debt of *Great Britain*, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. [29 July.]
- XC. An Act to revive and continue, until the Fifth Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, certain additional Bounties on the Exportation of certain Silk Manufactures of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. [29 July.]
- XCI. An Act for regulating the Mode of accounting for the Common Good and Revenues of the Royal Burghs of *Scotland*. [29 July.]
- XCII. An Act to explain an Act of the Fifty-third Year of the Reign of His late Majesty, respecting the Enrolment of Memorials of Grants of Annuities. [29 July.]
- XCIII. An Act for carrying into Execution an Agreement between His Majesty and the *East India* Company. [30 July.]
- XCIV. An Act to provide for the Collection and Payment of the Countervailing Duties and Drawbacks granted by an Act of this present Session on Malt and other Articles imported and exported between *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. [30 July.]
- XCV. An Act to reduce the Rate of Duties payable in respect of certain Carriages used and employed for the Purpose of conveying Passengers for Hire, and to make Regulations and Provisions relating to Stage Coaches and the Duties thereon. [30 July.]
- XCVI. An Act to continue, until the First Day of *January* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, an Act passed in the Fifty-ninth Year of His late Majesty, relating to imposing and levying Duties in *New South Wales*; to authorize the imposing and levying other Duties on Goods imported into the said Colony; and to suspend, for Ten Years, the Payment of Duty on the Importation of certain Goods the Produce of *New South Wales*. [30 July.]

XCVII. An Act to continue for Two Years an Act of the Fifty-sixth Year of His late Majesty, for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens arriving in or resident in this Kingdom, in certain Cases. [30 July.]

XCVIII. An Act for enabling His Majesty to grant Pensions to the Servants of Her late Majesty Queen *Caroline*. [30 July.]

XCIX. An Act to continue, until the Fifth Day of *January* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, the Duties of Customs payable on British Salt imported into *Ireland*; to repeal the Duties on Foreign Salt imported into *Ireland*; and to grant other Duties in lieu thereof. [30 July.]

C. An Act to incorporate the Contributors for the Erection of a National Monument in *Scotland*; to commemorate the Naval and Military Victories obtained during the late War. [30 July.]

[We live in hopes of seeing the House of Commons and House of Lords, too, employed in another way than in passing Acts of this description. The first word of this Act will be quite enough of it for the reader, who has either taste or sense: "Whereas it is *expedient* that a monument "should be erected in *Scotland*, in testimony of national gratitude to "Almighty God, for the signal successes of the British Arms by land and "sea in the late eventful war:" that is enough; if any thing should be wanted in the way of inscription for this monument, we should be disposed to recommend the whole of the Act, being No. 84 of this series, for relieving the distresses of the poor in *Ireland*; since those distresses unquestionably have arisen out of that war, in testimony of gratitude for the successes of which this monument is to be erected.]

CI. An Act for granting to His Majesty a Sum of Money to be raised by Lotteries. [31 July.]

CII. An Act to repeal an Act of the First and Second Year of His present Majesty, for facilitating the Dispatch of Business in the Court of King's Bench; and to make further Provisions in lieu thereof. [31 July.]

CIII. An Act for the Appointment of Constables, and to secure the effectual Performance of the Duties of their Office, and for the Appointment of Magistrates, in *Ireland*, in certain Cases. [5 August.]

CTV. An Act to continue, until the Thirty-first Day of *December* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, the Bounty to Vessels employed in the *Greenland Seas* and *Davis's Straights*; and to authorize His Majesty to alter the Times for the sailing of the said Vessels, and any of the Limitations contained in the Acts for allowing the said Bounty. [5 August.]

CV. An Act for granting Rates of Postage for the Conveyance of Letters and Packets between the Port of *Liverpool* in the County of *Lancaster* and the *Isle of Man*. [5 August.]

CVI. An Act to continue for One Year so much of an Act of the last Session of Parliament, as increases the Duties payable on Sagar imported from the *East Indies*. [5 August.]

CVII. An Act to allow, until the First Day of *August* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, a Drawback of the Whole of the Duties of Customs on Brimstone used and consumed in the making, and preparing Oil of Vitriol or Sulphuric Acid. [5 August.]

CVIII. An Act for vesting all Estates and Property occupied for the Barrack Service in any Part of the United Kingdom in the Principal Officers of His Majesty's Ordnance, and for granting certain Powers to the said Principal Officers in relation thereto. [5 August.]

[This is a law that deserves a great deal of attention. It requires, in our opinion, a very sharp looking after. The property thus vested is to a very large amount. It seems to us that these offices of the ordnance have power to sell estates or lands: and this is a power of very great importance. We just give this hint about this Act, but the whole affair must be looked into in a scrupulous manner one of these days.]

CIX. An Act to repeal the Duties and Drawbacks on Barilla imported into the United Kingdom; and to grant other Duties and Drawbacks in lieu thereof. [5 August.]

CX. An Act to amend the Laws for the Prevention of Struggling. [5 August.]

CXI. An Act to allow, until the Tenth Day of *November* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, the Exportation of Spirits distilled from Corn for Home Consumption in *Scotland*, to *Ports* beyond Seas, without Payment of the Duty of Excise chargeable thereon. [5 August.]

CXII. An Act to authorize the further Advance of Money out of the Consolidated Fund, for the Completion of Works of a Public Nature, and for the Encouragement of the Fisheries in *Ireland*. [5 August.]

CXIII. An Act to amend an Act, passed in the Fiftieth Year of His late Majesty, for directing that Accounts of Increase and Diminution of Public Salaries, Pensions, and Allowances, shall be annually laid before Parliament, and for regulating and controlling the granting and paying such Salaries, Pensions, and Allowances. [5 August.]

CXIV. An Act to provide for the more effectual Punishment of certain Offences, by Imprisonment with hard Labour. [5 August.]

[This Act is to inflict the punishment of *hard labour* in divers cases where it was not before inflicted. And we were not at all surprised to find that this punishment was to fall upon any person for "having entered any open or enclosed ground with *intent* there illegally to destroy, "take or kill GAME or RABBITS, or with *intent* to aid, abet and assist "any persons illegally to destroy, take or kill game or rabbits." We were not at all surprised to find this in the Act, nor will our readers be at all surprised at it. The *humanity* of the Parliament is *well known*; and here we see its tenderness of life, liberty and limb extended to these poor, harmless and defenceless little creatures!]

CXV. An Act to regulate the Qualification of Persons holding the Office of Coroner in *Ireland*. [5 August.]

- CXVI. An Act for the more convenient and effectual registering in *Ireland* Deeds executed in *Great Britain*. [5 August.]
- CXVII. An Act to reduce the Stamp Duties on Reconveyances of Mortgages, and in certain other Cases; and to amend an Act of the last Session of Parliament, for removing Doubts as to the Amount of certain Stamp Duties in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* respectively. [5 August.]
- CXVIII. An Act to amend an Act made in this present Session of Parliament, for amending an Act made in the First Year of His present Majesty's Reign, for the Assistance of Trade and Manufactures in *Ireland*, by authorizing the Advance of certain Sums for the Support of Commercial Credit there. [5 August.]
- CXIX. An Act to regulate the Trade of the Provinces of *Lower* and *Upper Canada*, and for other Purposes relating to the said Provinces. [5 August.]
- CXX. An Act to defray the Charge of the Pay, Cloathing, and contingent Expences of the Disembodied Militia in *Great Britain*; and to grant Allowances in certain Cases to Subaltern Officers, Adjutants, Quartermasters, Surgeons, Surgeons Mates, and Serjeant Majors of Militia, until the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three. [5 August.]
- CXXI. An Act to defray, until the Twenty-fifth Day of *June* One thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, the Charge of the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of *Ireland*; and for making Allowances to Officers and Quartermasters of the said Militia during Peace. [5 Aug.]
- CXXII. An Act for raising the Sum of Sixteen millions five hundred thousand Pounds by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. [5 August.]
- CXXIII. An Act to amend an Act of the First Year of His present Majesty, for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in *England*. [6 August.]
- CXXIV. An Act to amend an Act passed in the First and Second Years of His Majesty's Reign, for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in *Ireland*. [6 August.]
- CXXV. An Act to enable Ecclesiastical Persons, and others, in *Ireland*, to grant Leases of Tithes, so as to bind their Successors. [6 August.]
- CXXVI. An Act to amend the general Laws now in being for regulating Turnpike Roads in that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*. [6 August.]
- CXXVII. An Act for applying certain Monies therein mentioned for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, and for further appropriating the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament. [6 August.]

